

Előd Nemerkenyi

**CATHEDRAL LIBRARIES
IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY**

M. A. Thesis in Medieval Studies

The Central European University

Budapest

June 1998

**Cathedral Libraries
in Medieval Hungary**

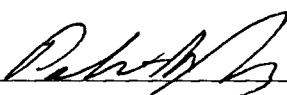
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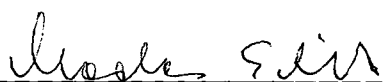
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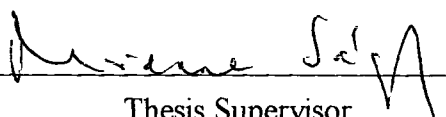
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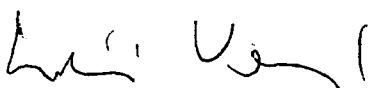
Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU


Chair, Examination Committee


External Examiner


Thesis Supervisor


Examiner

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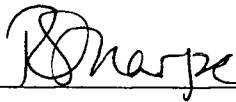
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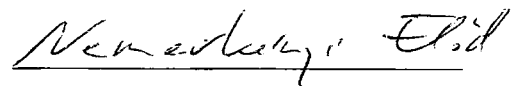
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Introduction

Vestimenta vero et coopertoria rex prevideat, presbiterum et libros episcopi. The second law code of St. Stephen, first king of Hungary, compiled between 1030 and 1038, ordered that the bishops should be in charge of the book provision of the churches.¹ A few years earlier, in 1023, Bishop Fulbert of Chartres wrote a letter to Bonipert, bishop of Pécs in Hungary: *Significavit autem nobis filius noster tuusque fidelis Hilduinus tuae charitatis erga nos insignia, fideliter asserens unum de nostris Priscianis te velle, quem et per eundem libenter mittimus, quidquid etiam de nostro petieris hilarissime tibi si possibile fuerit transmissuri, ipsam quoque praesentiam nostram, si tibi opus esset ac voluntas, nobisque potestas, obsequentissime praestaturi.* Thus, upon the request of Bishop Bonipert, Fulbert of Chartres sent one of his copies of the Latin grammar of Priscian to Hungary.² The legend of St. Gerard of Csanád (†1046) records how the bishop established a school next to his cathedral: *Episcopus autem erat in magna sollicitudine ex parte pauperum scholarium ac monachorum et hospitum, ad cuius domum ducebantur parvuli et tradebantur ad scholas, qui tam sollicite informabantur, ut noctes pro diebus computarentur.*³ The law code of St. Stephen, the letter

¹ György Györffy and Emma Bartoniek, eds., *Szent István törvényeinek XII. századi kézirat az Admonti kódexben (Hasonmás kiadás)* (The twelfth-century manuscript of the laws of St. Stephen in the Admont codex: facsimile edition) (Budapest: Helikon Kiadó, 1988), 66.

² The letter of Fulbert goes on: "Ad ultimam salvere te semper optamus, precantes ut illam novam ac gloriosam adoptionis prolem summi regis regem videlicet Stephanum intimans excellentiae suae ex nostra parte salutes, et universarum congregationum quae sunt in episcopatu nostro, canonicorum scilicet et monachorum orationum fidelia. Vale." This short but important text has been edited many times. Among the recent ones, see Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 141 (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1880), 189-90; Ferencz Albin Gombos, ed., *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendendum ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCCCI*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litterarum de Sancto Stephano Rege Nominata, 1937), 962; and Frederick Behrends, ed., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 148. On Fulbert of Chartres, see Joseph de Ghellinck, *Littérature latine au moyen âge*, vol. 2, *De la Renaissance carolingienne a saint Anselme* (Paris: Librairie Bloud & Gay, 1939), 73-4.

³ "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. Imre Madzsar and Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), 495. On Gerard of Csanád, see J. A. Endres, "Studien zur Geschichte der Frühscholastik: Gerard von Csanád," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 26.3 (1913): 349-59; Zoltán J.

of Fulbert of Chartres, and the legend of St. Gerard have a common feature: all the three refer to bishops and cathedrals as key figures in the culture of early eleventh-century Hungary. Furthermore, these sources suggest that there were some kind of cathedral libraries in Hungary as early as in that period. Unfortunately, very few sources of their medieval history survived. Therefore, medieval Hungarian cathedral libraries are somehow treated as stepchildren of the scholarly literature of library history.

Western historiography has been dealing much more extensively with cathedral libraries in the Middle Ages. Its cause is twofold. First, from the Carolingian Renaissance onwards, medieval cathedral schools in Western Europe played such an important role that can not be detected in medieval Hungary.⁴ Cathedral schools like Laon were of crucial importance. A huge material survived concerning the formation of its library. For instance, a letter of Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (†883), written to his namesake, Bishop Hincmar of Laon (†871) illustrates a way how the Laon cathedral library increased: *in regula pastorali beati Gregorii ex ordine potes relegere, quam tibi una cum libro sacrorum canonum in manu ante altare sanctae Mariae in die ordinationis tuae misi...*⁵ The cathedral school had been

Kosztolnyik, "The Importance of Gerard of Csanád as the First Author in Hungary," *Traditio* 25 (1969): 376-86; and György Györffy, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his work) (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1977), 367-9. The basic source is the theological work of St. Gerard of Csanád, "Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum," in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis*, ed. Gabriel Silagi, vol. 49 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978).

⁴ For Western European cathedral schools, see Bernhard Bischoff, "Die Bibliothek im Dienste der Schule," in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981), 213-33; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 165-210; David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (London: Longmans, 1962), 82-6; Richard C. Dales, *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1992), 147-68; Joseph H. Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1992), 89-90; Jacques Le Goff, *The Intellectuals in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA and Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993); and Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 258-64. For English cathedral schools, see Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedral in the Middle Ages: A Constitutional Study with Special Reference to the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press; New York: Barnes & Noble Inc., 1967), 185-205.

⁵ Hincmar of Reims, "Epistola ad Hincmarum Laudunensem episcopum," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 126 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1879), 558BC. For the early history of the Laon cathedral in this context, see the studies of John J. Contreni, "The Formation of Laon's Cathedral Library in the Ninth Century," *Studi Medievali* 13.2 (1972): 919-39; "A propos de quelques manuscrits de

flourishing under the leadership of Master Anselm of Laon at the beginning of the twelfth century.⁶ The *magistri* and *scholastici* of the cathedral school of Reims in the eleventh and twelfth century also played an important role.⁷

The second cause of the superiority of Western historiography over the Hungarian one in respect of the research of medieval cathedral libraries is the relative richness of the surviving Western European documents. From the nineteenth century to the present, Western cathedral libraries have received special attention.⁸ The role of the pioneer has been played by the German scholarship: detailed studies have discussed the medieval holdings of cathedral libraries like those of Chur, Cologne, and Trier.⁹ However, the greatest enterprise has been the huge series entitled *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*. This series aims at collecting and publishing all the surviving medieval library catalogues of the Holy Roman Empire. Thus, the library catalogues of the cathedrals of Augsburg, Bamberg, Eichstätt, Freising, Constance, Passau, and Regensburg have already been published.¹⁰ Detailed paleographical and

l'école de Laon au IXe siècle: Découvertes et problèmes," *Moyen Age* 78.1 (1972): 5-39; and *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1978).

⁶ See the studies of O. Lottin, "Aux origines de l'école théologique d'Anselme de Laon," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 10.2 (1938): 101-22; "Nouveaux fragments théologiques de l'école d'Anselme de Laon: Quelques manuscrits anglais," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 11.3 (1939): 242-59; and "Nouveaux fragments théologiques de l'école d'Anselme de Laon: Florileges de Saint-Amand," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 11.4 (1939): 305-23. For the library of the Laon cathedral chapter in the late Middle Ages, see Hélène Millet, *Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral de Laon 1272-1412* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1982), 101-4.

⁷ See the studies of John R. Williams, "The Cathedral School of Rheims in the Eleventh Century," *Speculum* 29.4 (1954): 661-77; and "The Cathedral School of Reims in the Time of Master Alberic, 1118-1136," *Traditio* 20 (1964): 93-114.

⁸ Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Kirchenbibliotheken," in *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1871), 319-32; Ladislaus Buzás, *Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1975), 95-106; and Donatella Nebbiai-Della Garda, *I documenti per la storia delle biblioteche medievali (secoli IX-XV)* (Rome: Jouvence Societa Editoriale a r. l., 1992).

⁹ Paul Lehmann, "Ein Bücherverzeichnis der Dombibliothek von Chur aus dem Jahre 1457," in *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1959), 171-85; Kl. Löffler, *Kölnische Bibliotheksgeschichte im Umriss* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1923); and again Paul Lehmann, "Nachrichten von der alten Trierer Dombibliothek," in *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, 1941), 231-53.

¹⁰ Augsburg: Paul Ruf, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 3.1, *Bistum Augsburg* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932), 8-20; Bamberg: Paul Ruf, ed.,

codicological studies have been committed to the investigation of the provenance of the Romanesque manuscripts of the Salzburg cathedral library as well.¹¹ Similar studies have also been dealing with cathedral libraries in medieval England, the Low Countries, Italy, and Spain.¹²

The research of the history and stock of medieval libraries in Central Europe follows the patterns set up by Western scholarship. Scholars usually emphasize the significance of the social background, the influence of the Latin church, and the development of the Central European universities (Vienna, Prague, Cracow).¹³ As far as the cathedral libraries are

Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz, vol. 3.3, *Bistum Bamberg* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939), 321-47; Eichstätt: Paul Ruf, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 3.2, *Bistum Eichstätt* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1933), 193-5; Freising: Günter Glauche and Hermann Knaus, eds., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 4.2, *Bistümer Freising und Würzburg* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1979), 630-3; Constance: Paul Lehmann, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 1, *Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1918), 185-205; Passau: Christine Elisabeth Ineichen-Eder, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 4.1, *Bistümer Passau und Regensburg* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1977), 17-33; and Regensburg: *ibid.*, 91-8.

¹¹ See for instance, Elisabeth Klemm, *Die romanische Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, vol. 1, *Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1980), 167-72. On the tradition of Carolingian manuscripts in the region of Freising, Passau, Regensburg, and Salzburg, see Bernhard Bischoff, "Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen," in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 2, *Das geistige Leben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunsfels and Bernhard Bischoff (Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1966), 246.

¹² England: Neil Ripley Ker, "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library," in *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage* (London and Ronceverte, WV, 1987), 143-73; Ian Maxted, *Exeter Cathedral Library: A Concordance of Medieval Catalogues and Surviving Manuscripts* (Exeter: Ian Maxted, 1987); Richard Sharpe, "Medieval Library Catalogues," *Scriptorium* 46.2 (1992): 289-90; and E. Anne Read, *A Checklist of Books, Catalogues and Periodical Articles Relating to the Cathedral Libraries of England* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society and Bodleian Library, 1970); the Low Countries: Albert Derolez, Benjamin Victor, and Lucien Reynhout, eds., *Corpus catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries*, vol. 2, *Provinces of Liege, Luxemburg and Namur* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1994); Italy: Albano Sorbelli, *La biblioteca capitolare della cattedrale di Bologna nel secolo XV: Notizie e catalogo (1451)* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1903); and Spain: D. Luis Battle y Prats, *La biblioteca de la catedral de Gerona desde su origen hasta la imprenta* (Gerona: Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses, 1947); Henri Omont, "Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Bernard II archeveque de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle (1226)," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 54 (1893): 327-33; and Manuel C. Diaz y Diaz, "La circulation des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique du VIIIe au XIe siècle, 1.," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 12.3 (1969): 219-41. On *Handschriftenwanderungen*, see Otto Mazal, *Lehrbuch der Handschriftenkunde* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1986).

¹³ In general, see Reginald R. Betts, "La société dans l'Europe centrale et dans l'Europe occidentale: Son développement vers la fin du moyen âge," *Revue d'Histoire Comparée* 26.2 (1948): 167-83; Jerzy Kłoczowski, "A civilizáció fejlődése Közép- és Kelet-Európában a XIV. és XV. században" (The development of civilization in Central and Eastern Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), *Aetas* 10.1 (1994): 166-86; Ivan Hlaváček, "Die Formung der westslawischen Schrift-, Buch- und Bibliothekskultur unter dem Einfluss der

concerned, the Austrian ones have been studied in the mainstream of the German scholarship. In this aspect, the series *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge* reached Central Europe. For example, the fifteenth-century library catalogue of the cathedral of Wiener Neustadt has been published along the guidelines of the edition of the inventory of the *Stephansdom* in Vienna in the *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge* at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁴

Recently, the various medieval *studia* in Bohemia and Moravia have been treated within the framework of the ecclesiastical corporations, especially the cathedral and collegiate chapters in the dioceses of Prague and Olomouc.¹⁵ According to its catalogue compiled between 1130 and 1140, the chapter library of the Olomouc cathedral possessed a copy of the commentaries on the Psalms of Anselm of Laon.¹⁶ Considering the fact that the Laon cathedral school flourished in the time of Master Anselm at the beginning of the twelfth century, one can assume that the library in Olomouc must have been an up-to-date one or, to express it more precisely, it had a copy of a work of an almost contemporary author. From 1356, the chapter library of the Prague cathedral had some manuscripts containing the lectures of John Buridan, professor of logic at the university of Paris. As the earliest manuscript ends: *Expliciunt dicta priorum data Parisius per Venerabilem magistrum Johannem Buridani Anno domini MCCCLVI*. There were other Buridan manuscripts in Prague at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century as well.¹⁷ However, the presence of the works of John

lateinischen Kirche," *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 30.2 (1983): 701-37; and Edward Potkowski, "Le livre dans la société du bas Moyen Age (XIVe-XVe s.): L'exemple de l'Europe centrale," in *Produzione e commercio della carta e del libro: Secc. XIII-XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Prato: Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini," 1992), 757-72.

¹⁴ Theodor Gottlieb, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 1, *Niederösterreich* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1915), 279-82; and Herbert Paulhart, "Ein Wiener-Neustädter Bücherverzeichnis von 1480," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 71 (1963): 115-23.

¹⁵ Zdeňka Hledíková, "Das Studium von mittelalterlichen kirchlichen Korporationen in Böhmen und Mähren," *Quaestiones Mediae Aevi Novae* 2 (1997): 61-9.

¹⁶ Jan Bistřícký, "Aus der Bibliothek des Olmützer Domkapitels im 12. Jh.," *Philologus* 123.1 (1979): 182.

¹⁷ Ryszard Palacz, "Les traités de Jean Buridan conservés dans les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Chapitre à Prague," *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 14 (1970): 53-4. For the Prague cathedral library, see

Buridan in Prague does not necessarily refer to direct connections between the university of Paris and the cathedral of Prague because the university of Prague, established in 1348, had already been working by that time. It is much more probable that wandering masters or students carried the Buridan manuscripts to Prague, perhaps from the university of Paris itself. The importance of the Prague cathedral as a center of learning should not be exaggerated. The university and the court of Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg were superior to that.¹⁸

Cathedral and collegiate chapters in medieval Poland have also been dealt with recently, from the point of view of spirituality.¹⁹ Others examined the secular background of book culture and education in Poland from the tenth to the twelfth century, in comparison with the neighboring countries.²⁰ Interesting statistical analyses have been conducted in order to establish the proportion and detect its chronological changes between parochial, monastic, collegiate chapter, and cathedral schools in Poland.²¹ The catalogue of the Cracow cathedral library, compiled in 1110, reflects a modest collection. Apart from the liturgical and legal books, it only contained a couple of volumes: Boëthius, *De consolazione philosophiae*; St. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* and *Dialogi*; and St. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*.²² Polish cathedral libraries, like Cracow, Gniezno, Lwów, Płock, or Wrocław, had been

furthermore Pavel Spunar, "Versus de libris," in *Calames et cahiers: Mélanges de codicologie et de paléographie offerts à Léon Gilissen*, ed. Jacques Lemaire and Émile Van Balberghe (Brussels: Centre d'Étude des Manuscrits, 1985), 177-82.

¹⁸ S. Harrison Thomson, "Learning at the Court of Charles IV," *Speculum* 25.1 (1950): 1-20.

¹⁹ Andrzej Radzimiński, "Die geistlichkeit der mittelalterlichen Dom- und Kollegiatkapitel in Polen: Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 2 (1997): 45-59.

²⁰ Jerzy Dowiat, "Le livre et l'école dans l'éducation des seigneurs laïcs en Pologne et dans les pays voisins du Xe au XIIe siècle," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 28 (1973): 7-22. For earlier Western parallels, see Pierre Riché, "Les bibliothèques de trois aristocrates laïcs carolingiens," *Moyen Age* 69.1 (1963): 87-104; and Aryeh Grabois, "La bibliothèque du noble d'Outremer à Acre dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle," *Moyen Age* 103.1 (1997): 53-66.

²¹ Eugeniusz Wiśniewski, "The Parochial School System in Poland Towards the Close of the Middle Ages," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 27 (1973): 30.

²² Adam Vetulani, "Krakowska biblioteka katedralna w świetle swego inwentarza z roku 1110" (The Cracow cathedral library in the light of its inventory from the year 1110), *Slavia Antiqua* 4 (1953): 165.

flourishing during the reign of the Piast king, Casimir the Great, in the late fourteenth century. Nevertheless, the proportion between different types of book remained the same as in the case of the 1110 catalogue of the Cracow cathedral library: the overwhelming majority was constituted by liturgy and canon law. The liturgical handbook of William Durand, the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* was popular. The most commonly used legal books were the *Decretum* of Gratian and the *Decretales* of Gregory IX with various glosses. The theological collections were particularly poor: the *Liber sententiarum*, one of the standard theology textbooks in the Middle Ages, could not be found in too many places.²³ The theological collection of the Cracow cathedral library may have increased in number but had not increased in quality by the fifteenth century.²⁴ The university of Cracow, established in 1364, and the Dominican Friars in the city obviously did not let the cathedral to have any important cultural role. The difference between the cathedral library and the library of the Dominican convent in Cracow reflects this relation.²⁵ The above data show that the development of the Central European cathedral libraries followed a similar pattern.

The historiography of medieval Hungarian libraries did not run parallel with Western and Central European scholarship. The medieval books of Hungary have not survived in such a great number as in Western and Central Europe. Unfortunately, this rule applies for the library catalogues as well. Therefore, with very few exceptions, the basic works on the history of medieval Hungarian libraries always had to rely upon scattered and fragmentary sources.²⁶ The

²³ Paul W. Knoll, "Learning in Late Piast Poland," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120.2 (1976): 139-143.

²⁴ Edward Potkowski, *Le livre manuscrit - la société - la culture dans la Pologne du bas moyen age (XIVe-XVe s.)* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1987), 41-3. Furthermore, see Stanisława Sawicka, "La miniature en Pologne," *Scriptorium* 15.1 (1961): 115-7.

²⁵ Zofia Włodek, "Inventaire des manuscrits médiévaux latins, philosophiques et théologiques de la Bibliothèque des Peres Dominicains de Cracovie," *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 14 (1970): 155-86.

²⁶ Csaba Csapodi, "Ungarische Bibliotheksgeschichte: Vom Mittelalter bis zum Frieden von Szatmár (1711)," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 59 (1984): 332-57; and Edit Madas, "Írás, könyv és könyvhasználat a középkori Magyarországon, 1000-1526" (Writing, book, and book use in medieval Hungary, 1000-1526), in *A*

generally accepted periodization of their history is twofold: the development (roughly from 1000 to 1400) and the so-called golden age (from 1401 to 1526).²⁷

The voices of complaints about the scarcity of the documents of Hungarian book history always oppress the fact that Hungarians were not always the victims of invasions that destroyed their books, like those of the Mongols in the thirteenth century and the Turkish in the sixteenth century. Before the Christianization of Hungary, unfortunately, the first encounter of the Hungarians with libraries also happened in a barbaric manner. The Hungarian raids against Germany and Lombardy caused serious losses to the European libraries in the first half of the tenth century. During their last Western expedition in 955, for example, Abbot Engilbert and the monks of the Benedictine monastery of St. Gall had to worry about their books as well as other treasures. The Hungarian attack against the monastery which housed one of the most well-equipped libraries of that time was recorded in the *Casus sancti Galli* of the monk Ekkehard IV in the middle of the eleventh century: *Capella citata fit oratorium, in quod invehuntur cruces et cum diptitiis capsae; nec non et pene omnis praeter libros repositorios ecclesiae thesaurus*.²⁸

This picture had been changed radically in less than a century. (Nevertheless, the authors of medieval Hungarian chronicles always proudly recorded the damages that their ancestors caused to the wealthy monasteries.)²⁹ It is worth quoting an other source in order to

könyvkultúra Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1730-ig (The book culture in Hungary from the beginnings until 1730), Edit Madas and István Monok (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1998), 9-66.

²⁷ Csaba Csapodi, "A középkori könyvkultúra kibontakozása Magyarországon (1000-1400)" (The development of the medieval book culture in Hungary, 1000-1400), in *Magyar könyvtártörténet* (Hungarian library history), Csaba Csapodi, András Tóth, and Miklós Vértessy (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1987), 9-43; and idem, "A magyarországi könyvkultúra fénykora (1401-1526)" (The golden age of the Hungarian book culture, 1401-1526), *ibid.*, 44-84.

²⁸ Ekkehard IV, "Casus sancti Galli," in *Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores*, ed. Ildephons von Arx, vol. 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1829), 105. On the library of St. Gall, see Gustav Hänel, "Alte Manuscriptenkataloge, 3-4.," *Serapeum* 2.2 (1841): 17-23. For the destruction of monastic libraries by the Hungarians, see James Westfall Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1957), 657.

²⁹ Anonymus, "Gesta Hungarorum," in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. Imre Szentpétery, vol. 1 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate

illustrate the measure of this change. Another Benedictine abbot, Odilo of Cluny sent a letter to King Stephen sometime in the 1030s. In this letter, Odilo quoted a story about St. Gregory the Great and the veneration of powerful relics as if the addressee would have known who the authority was: *Sed et in Gestis Beati Gregorii pape legimus, quod cum quidam ab ipso reliquias peterent sanctorum pro reliquiis, prandea susceperunt, quibus in fide dubitantibus seseque irrisos conquerentibus iamdictus papa partem prandei ferro incidit et, ut dicitur, statim sanguis effluxit.*³⁰

The very first library catalogue of medieval Hungary survived in the general inventory of the goods of the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma (*mons sancti Martini*). The charter containing the inventory was issued by King Ladislas sometime between 1083 and 1095. German historiography began to deal with this source earlier than the Hungarian one.³¹ According to the scholarly analyses of the catalogue, the Benedictine library of Pannonhalma reflected the niveau of its Western, mainly German, counterparts.³² Apart from the

Histor. Hungarica, 1937), 107-9; Simon of Kéza, "Gesta Hungarorum," *ibid.*, 168; and the "Chronicon pictum Vindobonense," *ibid.*, 306.

³⁰ György Györffy, ed., *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima: Accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia*, vol. 1, *Ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1131* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 111. Furthermore, see László Király, ed., *István király emlékezete* (The memory of King Stephen) (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1988), 75-7. On the relation between Cluny and Hungary, see Ferenc Galla, *A clunyi reform hatása Magyarországon* (The effect of the Cluniac reform in Hungary) (Pécs: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó és Nyomda Rt., 1931); József Deér, review of *A clunyi reform hatása Magyarországon* (The effect of the Cluniac reform in Hungary), by Ferenc Galla, *Századok* 67.9-10 (1933): 437-45; and Lajos Csóka J., "Clunyi szellemű volt-e a magyar egyház a XI. században?" (Was the Hungarian church under Cluniac influence in the eleventh century?), *Regnum* 5 (1942-1943): 141-76.

³¹ Gustav Becker, ed., *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: Max. Cohen et Filius Fr. Cohen, 1885), 171-2.

³² The best edition of the charter is still that of László Erdélyi, ed., *A pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (A history of the Benedictine order of Pannonhalma), vol. 1.1, *A pannonhalmi főapátság története: A megalapítás és terjeszkedés kora 996-1243* (A history of the archabbey of Pannonhalma: the age of foundation and expansion 996-1243) (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1902), 591. The library catalogue has been extensively analyzed in the studies of Csaba Csapodi, "A legrégebb magyar könyvtár belső rendje (Pannonhalma a XI. században)" (The internal structure of the oldest Hungarian library: Pannonhalma in the eleventh century), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 73.1 (1957): 14-24; "Le catalogue de Pannonhalma, reflet de la vie intellectuelle des Bénédictins du XIe siècle en Hongrie," in *Miscellanea codicologica*, ed. Pierre Cockshaw, Monique-Cécile Garand, and Pierre Jodogne, vol. 1 (Gand: E. Story, Scientia S. P. R. L., and Éditions Scientifiques, 1979), 165-73; and "A középkori könyvtári katalógusok eszméletörténeti tükröződése" (The cultural reflection of medieval library catalogues), in *Eszméletörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Cultural studies on medieval Hungary), ed. György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 55-69. In general, see B. Miksa Bánhegyi, "Bencés könyvkultúra a középkorban" (Benedictine book culture in the

Benedictines, the Cistercians also had similar monastic libraries in Hungary from the late twelfth century. Being affiliations, the Cistercian monasteries maintained strong relationship with France. This connection affected their book provision as well because it served as a channel of book supply at the beginning, that is, at the end of the twelfth century.³³ The mendicant orders, the Franciscan and Dominican Friars, the Augustinian Hermits possessed libraries, too. Out of them, the Dominican convents had the best collections. Dominicans seem to have been on good terms with the cathedrals. Sometimes, canons bequeathed some of their books from their private libraries to Dominican convents in the nearby.³⁴ According to surviving book lists from the fifteenth century, parish churches in Upper Hungary and Transylvania had relatively good libraries in the late Middle Ages.³⁵ However, secular libraries also existed in Hungary. Although laymen usually had very few books, if they had at all, the royal court and some aristocratic residences counted as exceptions from the fourteenth century. Their late medieval libraries reflected the ideas of a chivalrous society. Nevertheless, children of aristocrats were also educated in ecclesiastical schools.³⁶ The most luxurious library of late medieval Hungary was that of King Matthias, the so-called Corvinian library in the royal palace of Buda. A considerable part of the manuscripts of its stock were copied and illuminated in

Middle Ages), *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 8.1-2 (1996), 15-23. For the sake of comparison, see Herbert Bloch, "Monte Cassino's Teachers and Library in the High Middle Ages," *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 19.2 (1972): 563-605.

³³ Gyula Lovass, "Egy középkori francia kolostor könyvei Magyarországon" (The books of a medieval French monastery in Hungary), *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 62.4-9 (1938): 224-6; and Viktor Machovich, "A magyar-francia cisztercita kapcsolatok történetéhez" (On the history of the Franco-Hungarian Cistercian relations), *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 59.7-9 (1935): 269-88.

³⁴ See Bernd Ingmar Gutberlet, "Die Bücher der Bettelorden: Zu Idee und Bedeutung von Buch und Bibliothek in den drei grössten mendikantischen Orden des Mittelalters und der Erforschung ihrer Bibliotheken im mittelalterliche Ungarn" (M. A. thesis, Central European University, 1994).

³⁵ Arnold Ipolyi, "Egy középkori magyar plébános könyvtára" (The library of a medieval Hungarian parish priest), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1.5 (1876): 229-41; Endre Ivánka, "Két magyarországi plébániai könyvtár a XV. században, 1." (Two Hungarian parish libraries in the fifteenth century, 1.), *Századok* 72.4-6 (1938): 137-66; and "Két magyarországi plébániai könyvtár a XV. században, 2." (Two Hungarian parish libraries in the fifteenth century, 2.), *Századok* 72.7-8 (1938): 320-34.

Renaissance Florence, but the king established a *scriptorium* in Buda as well. Unfortunately, this library was also dispersed after the Turkish invasion in the early sixteenth century. The number of the identified manuscripts of the Corvinian library is over one hundred and sixty today. They are kept in more than twenty libraries all around the world, including Budapest, Cambridge, Florence, New York, Venice, Vienna, and Wolfenbüttel.³⁷

In spite of the scarcity of the evidence, the medieval libraries of the monastic and mendicant orders, the secular libraries, and especially the Corvinian library are well-researched in Hungarian historiography. Cathedral libraries are not at all. This may seem strange at first because their Western and Central European counterparts have been examined, the Western catalogues have been published, and so on. On the other hand, canons in Hungarian cathedrals were part of the European development of the cathedral and collegiate chapters which was based theoretically on the rule of Bishop Chrodegang of Metz (†766). His *Regula canonicorum* bore some reminiscences of the rule of St. Benedict of Nursia. Quoting Isaiah 56, 10, the seventy-ninth chapter of the rule of St. Chrodegang specified the liturgical books that must be provided by the bishop in each cathedral: *Hi sunt libri quos habere debet unusquisque sacerdos in sua ecclesia, per quos missas, et epistolas, seu Evangelium, vel baptisterium, seu poenitentiam, aut circulos annorum, sive lectiones nocturnales, intelligi potest. Si quis tales non habuerit, ab Ecclesia degradetur, quia in illo completur quod in libris legitur: "Canes muti non possunt latrare." Hi sunt mali presbyteri qui concupiscunt accipere pastorale ministerium Ecclesiae, nec tamen possunt ad populum praedicare.*³⁸ The rule of St.

³⁶ Ágnes Kurcz, *Lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13-14. században* (Chivalrous culture in Hungary in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 221-56.

³⁷ Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, "Les scripteurs de la bibliothèque du roi Mathias," *Scriptorium* 17.1 (1963): 25-49; Ilona Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1963); Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, and Tibor Szántó, eds., *Bibliotheca Corviniana* (Budapest: Magyar Helikon and Európa Könyvkiadó, 1967); and Csaba Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973).

³⁸ Chrodegang of Metz, "Regula canonicorum," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 89 (Paris: Migne, 1863), 1090B. See László Mezey, *Deákság és Európa: Irodalmi*

Chrodegang was adopted by the cathedral and collegiate chapters in Hungary. In spite of the relatively early dissolution of the strict discipline of the *vita communis* in the eleventh century, the hierarchy in Hungary remained similar to that in Western Europe. The canon in charge of the books was the *custos* and the one in charge of the school was the *lector* or the *rector*.³⁹

The geographical distribution of the cathedral chapters in medieval Hungary can be called even. There were fifteen cathedral chapters (*capitulum cathedrale*) by the fourteenth century: in Bács, Bosnia, Csanád, Eger, Esztergom, Győr, Gyulafehérvár, Kalocsa, Nyitra, Pécs, Vác, Várad, Veszprém, Szerém, and Zagreb. The amount of the collegiate chapters (*capitulum collegiatum*) was almost the double of that of the cathedral chapters at that period: twenty-eight.⁴⁰ Out of the fifteen cathedrals, the following ten foundations attributed to King St. Stephen are supposed to have housed chapter schools as early as in the eleventh century: Csanád, Eger, Esztergom, Győr, Gyulafehérvár, Kalocsa, Pécs, Vác, Várad, and Veszprém. Two more cathedral schools have to be added to this list from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: those of Nyitra and Zagreb. If one supplement these figures with data on the schools of the collegiate chapters, it can be easily understood why the historiography of Hungarian education has labeled this period as the golden age of the chapter schools.⁴¹

műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlata (Latinity and Europe: the foundation of Hungarian literary culture) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 69-73.

³⁹ Remig Békefi, *A magyarországi káptalanok megalakulása és Szent Chrodegang regulája* (The formation of the Hungarian chapters and the rule of St. Chrodegang) (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1901), 44. For comparison, see the *magister scholarum* in the cathedral chapter of Valencia, described by Ignatius Burns, "The Organization of a Mediaeval Cathedral Community: The Chapter of Valencia (1238-1280)," *Church History* 31.1 (1962): 17; and the peculiar English phenomenon by David Knowles, "The Cathedral Monasteries," in *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 254-62. On the semantic variants of the words *capitulum* and *cathedralis*, see Charles Dufresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Niort: L. Favre Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1883), 140-2, 226-7; Balázs Déri, "Capitulum," in *Lexicon Latinitatis mediae aevi Hungariae*, ed. János Harmatta, vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991), 44-5; Mária Szabó, "Cathedralis," *ibid.*, 73; and Ann K. Warren, "Chapter," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Reese Strayer, vol. 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 265-6.

⁴⁰ József Köblös, "Káptalan" (Chapter), in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század)* (Lexicon of the early history of Hungary: ninth to fourteenth century), ed. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 325-6.

The legal development of the medieval Hungarian cathedrals was twofold. On the one hand, it followed the Western model in respect of the legal role of the bishop and the chapter, the organization, and the diocesan affairs.⁴² On the other hand, cathedral chapters, along with collegiate chapters and the convents of the Benedictines, the Premonstratensians, and the Knights of St. John, constituted a unique phenomenon in the legal history of Hungary, the development of the *loca credibilia* (or *loca authentica*, *loca testimonialia*), one of the favorite topics of Hungarian medievalists dealing with legal history. These *glaubwürdigen Orte*, as the German literature calls it, were the places where charters could be issued with authentic seals. All the ten cathedrals that probably had been founded by St. Stephen became *loca credibilia*. Their official titles run like these: *Capitulum ecclesiae beatae Mariae virginis et sancti Adalberti Strigoniensis* (Esztergom), *Capitulum ecclesiae sancti Michaelis archangeli Vesprimiensis* (Veszprém), and *Capitulum ecclesiae sancti Stephani regis Zagradiensis* (Zagreb, from the very end of the eleventh century). Recently, detailed studies have investigated how the practice of the issuing of charters and the keeping of registers at the *loca credibilia* followed the patterns of the imperial and the papal chancery.⁴³ These peculiarities

⁴¹ István Mészáros, *Középszintű iskoláink kronológiája és topográfiája 996-1948 (Általánosan képző középiskolák)* (Chronology and topography of Hungarian secondary schools 996-1948: general secondary schools) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 18-21, 285-6.

⁴² Alexander Szentirmai, "Die ungarische Diözesankurie im Spätmittelalter," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 79. *Kanonistische Abteilung* 48 (1962): 164-221; Klaus Ganzer, "Zur Beschränkung der Bischofswahl auf die Domkapitel in Theorie und Praxis des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, 1.," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 88. *Kanonistische Abteilung* 57 (1971): 22-82; and "Zur Beschränkung der Bischofswahl auf die Domkapitel in Theorie und Praxis des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, 2.," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 89. *Kanonistische Abteilung* 58 (1972): 166-97; Siegfried Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, vol. 1, *Von den Anfängen bis in das 13. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, Cologne, and Graz: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1977); and Käthe Sonnleitner, "Die Darstellung des bischöflichen Selbstverständnisses in den Urkunden des Mittelalters: Am Beispiel des Erzbistums Salzburg und der Bistümer Passau und Gurk bis 1250," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 37 (1991): 155-305.

⁴³ János Jerney, "A' magyarországi káptalanok és konventek' mint hielmes és hiteles helyek' története" (A history of the Hungarian chapters and convents as *loca credibilia*), *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 1.2 (1855): 1-166; Ferenc Eckhart, "Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelealter," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung: Ergänzungsband* 9.1 (1913): 395-558; Zoltán Miklósy, "Hiteles hely és iskola a középkorban" (Loca credibilia and schools in the Middle Ages), *Levéltári Közlemények* 18-19 (1940-1941): 170-8; György Bónis, "Die Entwicklung der geistlichen Gerichtsbarkeit in Ungarn vor 1526," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 80. *Kanonistische Abteilung* 49 (1963): 174-235; László Mezey, "Anfänge der Privaturkunde in Ungarn und der Glaubwürdigen Orte," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 18

must have affected the holdings of the cathedral libraries because the leading role in the legal affairs of a diocese was that of the canons in the cathedral chapter.

Out of the many disciplines dealing with medieval Hungary, the social historical approach contributed the most successfully to the history of the cathedral chapters. Although the problem of the social origin of the canons has not been solved at all, it is important from a practical point of view that the chapter as an institution has been fit into the feasible category of the so-called ecclesiastical middle class. Scholarly analyses, that have been accomplished in this context, revealed the quantitative aspect of the issue on the basis of late medieval, mainly fifteenth-century, documents. Thus, the cathedral chapter in Esztergom had thirty-nine canons at the end of the fourteenth century and forty in 1525. Both Veszprém and Zagreb had thirty-two in the fifteenth century. In average, chapters consisted of twenty or thirty canons at that period. The collegiate chapter in Pozsony included fourteen canons. This suggests that cathedral chapters were greater, if not wealthier, communities.⁴⁴

The legal and social status of medieval Hungarian cathedrals is of crucial importance for establishing their historical context but it does not help that much in discovering their cultural role in general and in reconstructing their libraries in particular. However, there are some direct sources to rely upon, although not as many as in the case of Western and Central European libraries. The most significant and useful of them are three surviving library catalogues from two cathedrals in late medieval Hungary: one from Veszprém (1435) and two from Zagreb (1394 and 1426).⁴⁵ These book lists survived in the general inventories of the

(1972): 290-302; and László Solymosi, "A pápai kancellária hatása a magyarországi oklevéladásra a 13. század közepéig" (The influence of the papal chancery on the issuing of charters in Hungary until the middle of the thirteenth century), *Történelmi Szemle* 39.3-4 (1997): 341-2.

⁴⁴ Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* (Ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 59-120. Mályusz was the first scholar who made systematic use of the few surviving cathedral library catalogues in his research on social history. See *ibid.*, 107-9.

⁴⁵ For medieval library catalogues in Western Europe, see Albert Derolez, *Les catalogues de bibliothèques* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979).

goods possessed by the cathedrals. The printed versions of these three catalogues constitute the basis of our investigations. Up to now, no systematic scholarly analysis has been dedicated directly to them. This does not mean that the items contained in the book lists cannot be identified and the cathedral libraries cannot be reconstructed at a certain level.

However, the case of the Esztergom cathedral library, namely the lack of surviving inventory, illustrates that there are major obstacles to the attempt at the reconstruction. Therefore, it is necessary to rely upon documents other than library catalogues, at least to evade these obstacles, if not to remove them. Additional information can be drawn from sources of different types and genres such as charters, wills, acts of visitation, synodal statutes and constitutions. Furthermore, it cannot be avoided either to make use of the modern paleographical and codicological descriptions of codices, manuscript fragments and of the hypotheses that have been put forward about their provenance.

Keeping in mind the historical context of the cathedrals, the following questions can be formulated on the basis of this group of sources: How did the compilers of the catalogues divide the books?⁴⁶ How did they describe the items (author, title, material quality)? What methods did they apply for identifying the individual books as objects (instead of identifying the texts)? Where did the canons store the books? Who had the codices copied? If the books were not copied in the local *scriptorium*, who donated them to the cathedral? How did the academic *peregrinatio* of Hungarian canons contribute to the book provision of their cathedrals? Who borrowed the books? How did the borrowers admit that they carried a book away? Who read the books borrowed and who lost them? How did the compilers record the loss or the destruction of a book? What are the exact and statistically revealed proportions between different genres like biblical, liturgical, patristic, scholastic, medical, historical, and legal ones?

⁴⁶ On the *Anordnung* of the libraries, see Theodor Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1890), 299-329.

What kind of interests and preferences do these proportions reflect? Finally, did medieval Hungarian cathedral libraries have Latin classics?

One could argue that some of these questions imply that the term "cathedral library" is not sufficient to include all the results to be expected into one single category. Naturally, it is true. However, it is obvious that the most significant link between various holdings other than cathedral libraries, like the private libraries of bishops, archdeacons, canons, is the cathedral. Therefore, we use the term "cathedral library" out of practical reasons under the obligation that different types of library are not to be mixed or confused. The most obvious exception, the library of the collegiate chapter in Pozsony which is incorporated into the statistical analysis for the sake of comparison, is not treated here separately.

The catalogues of Veszprém and Zagreb are the only known direct witnesses to the book culture of medieval Hungarian cathedrals today. A culture which has not been introduced yet to the wider international scholarly public.

Limits of Reconstruction:

The Case of Esztergom

Post hec provincias in decem partitus episcopatus, Strigoniensem ecclesiam metropolim et magistrum ceterarum fore constituit. The legend of St. Stephen, first king of Hungary, written a century later, between the years 1112 and 1116 by Bishop Hartwic, an intimate friend of King Coloman, records the foundation of the Esztergom archbishopric, dedicated to St. Adalbert.⁴⁷ Hartwic attributes the foundation to King Stephen, thus establishing the authority of the Hungarian metropolitan see. Nevertheless, the early history of the archbishopric is still far from clear, even in the light of recent scholarship.⁴⁸

In spite of this uncertainty, we have a relatively early reference to the cultural climate of Esztergom in the first half of the eleventh century. Arnold, Benedictine monk from the monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, Bavaria, visited Esztergom around the year 1030. He writes that his host, Archbishop Anastas, commented on the biography of St. Emmeram with serious skill in theological matters.⁴⁹ Arnold's appreciation reflects the cultural level of Esztergom in terms of Western standards.

⁴⁷ Hartwic, "Legenda sancti Stephani regis," in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. Emma Bartoniek and Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), 411-2. The hagiographer presents details, *ibid.*, 412: "Quarto post patris obitum anno divina commonente clementia eundem Ascrum presulem, qui alio nomine Anastasius dictus est, ad limina sanctorum apostolorum misit, ut a successore sancti Petri, principis apostolorum postularet, quo novelle christianitati exorte in partibus Pannonie largam benedictionem porrigeret, Strigoniensem ecclesiam in metropolim sue subscriptionis auctoritate sanciret et reliquos episcopatus sua benedictione muniret."

⁴⁸ See Erik Fügedi, "Esztergomi érsekség története" (A history of the Esztergom archbishopric), in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század)* (Lexicon of the early history of Hungary: ninth to fourteenth centuries), ed. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 202. On the mission of Astric-Anastas, the cleric of St. Adalbert and King Stephen, to Pope Sylvester II in Rome and Ravenna, see György Györffy, "A magyar egyházszerzés kezdeteiről újabb forráskritikai vizsgálatok alapján" (On the beginnings of the Hungarian church organization on the basis of recent source criticism), *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Filozófiai és Történettudományi Osztályának Közleményei* 18.1 (1969): 199-225. On Esztergom as a possible royal center in the early period, see József Deér, "Aachen und die Herrschersitze der Arpaden," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 79.1 (1971): 1; and György Györffy, "Die Anfänge der ungarischen Kanzlei im 11. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 30 (1984): 92.

As time went on, the archbishopric became more and more wealthy. By the year 1156, according to a twelfth-century tax register, the Esztergom cathedral became head of seventy parish churches. If we can attribute an entire *villa* to each of these churches, this number represents a population of an extraordinary density and considerable wealth.⁵⁰ Of course, this economic growth was associated with increasing political power, both in Hungarian and international affairs, such as the election and coronation of kings, the correspondence with the Papacy, and even the decisions concerning Hungarian participation in the crusades.⁵¹ Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the influence of the royal *propositio* in the canonical *electio* of the archbishop of Esztergom grew stronger. Furthermore, the choice of the members of the cathedral chapter had to be supported by the king as well as by the pope (*approbatio*).⁵² Such was the case in one of the significant events in the church history of medieval Central Europe when Boleslas, the Polish deacon of the cathedral of Cracow was elected archbishop of Esztergom. In Avignon, in the year 1321, Pope John XXII confirmed him, the former *scholasticum ecclesie Cracoviensis, in diaconatus ordine constitutum*, in his new position.⁵³

⁴⁹ Nándor Knauz, ed., *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 1, *Ab a. 979. ad a. 1273.* (Esztergom: Horák Egyed, 1874), 42: "Is cum beati Emmerammi veterem illum et viciatum legeret librum, materiam probavit cum sententiis; sed harum seriem cum veste reprehendit pondere rationis." For the Benedictine and the cathedral libraries in the period, see Birger Munk Olsen, "Les bibliothèques bénédictines et les bibliothèques des cathédrales: Les mutations des XIe et XIIe siècles," in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, ed. André Vernet, vol. 1, *Les bibliothèques médiévales: Du VIe siècle à 1530* (Paris: Promodis - Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1989), 31-44.

⁵⁰ István Kniesz, "Az esztergomi káptalan 1156. évi dézsmajegyzékének helységei" (The villages in the tax register of the Esztergom chapter in 1156), *Századok* 73.4-6 (1939): 167-87.

⁵¹ For the papacy and the crusades in the history of the medieval archbishopric of Esztergom, see the studies of James Ross Sweeney, "Innocent III and the Esztergom Election Dispute: The Historical Background of the Decretal *Bone memorie II* (X. 1. 5. 4.)," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 15 (1977): 113-37 and "Magyarország és a keresztes hadjáratok a 12-13. században" (Hungary and the crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), *Századok* 118.1 (1984): 119-20.

⁵² Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* (The last Árpadians) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1993), 90-1.

⁵³ Ludovicus Crescens Dedek, ed., *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 3, *Ab a. 1321. ad a. 1349.* (Esztergom: Buzárovits Gusztáv, 1924), 6: "Johannes Episcopus... Bolezlao, electo Strigoniensi... prepositus et capitulum eiusdem ecclesie... te scholasticum ecclesie Cracoviensis, in diaconatus ordine constitutum, per viam compromissi, in Strigon. archiepiscopum concorditer elegerunt... Quapropter volentes memorate Strigon. ecclesie salubriter providere... te illi in arciepiscopum preficimus et pastorem." On Archbishop Boleslas, see

Thanks to the constant correspondence with the papacy of Rome or Avignon, the archbishops of Esztergom could always keep an eye on what was happening in the political and even the theological life of Western Europe. In 1330, for instance, a letter of the Avignon pope, John XXII, informed the archbishop of Esztergom about the *heretico et scismatico* movement of Emperor Louis of Bavaria, Marsilius of Padua, and the Franciscan Michael of Cesena.⁵⁴

Approaching the problem of the theological culture of Esztergom, we can make some use of the data on its local liturgy. In 1248, Pope Innocent IV proclaimed an indulgence of one year and forty days for those who visited the Esztergom cathedral on the following days: Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, *Corpus Christi*, Whitsuntide, Trinity Sunday, the Nativity, Conception, Purification, and Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the feasts of Saints Peter and Paul, *St. Gregory the Great*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustine*, and *St. Jerome*, furthermore, *St. Stephen*, *St. Ladislav*, *St. Emericus*, *St. Adalbert*, and the Last Supper.⁵⁵ It is enough to make a superficial survey of this liturgical calendar to realize that, apart from the Hungarian dynastic saints' festivities, the saints appearing in the list are the four Doctors of the Church. Apart from the general liturgical patterns and the personal preference of Pope Innocent IV himself, this fact may be interpreted as a trace of interest in doctrine and theology. However, this interpretation would require detailed studies in the history of liturgy.

Stanisław Sroka, "Egy lengyel származású főpap a 14. századi Magyarországon: Boleszló esztergomi érsek (1321-1328)" (A Polish prelate in fourteenth-century Hungary: Archbishop Boleslas of Esztergom, 1321-1328), *Aetas* 10.1 (1994): 89-101.

⁵⁴ Ludovicus Crescens Dedek, ed., *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 3, *Ab a. 1321. ad a. 1349.* (Esztergom: Buzárovits Gusztáv, 1924), 173-7: "ab heretico et scismatico *Ludovico de Bavaria...* ex dampnabilibus fautoris et adhesionibus ipsorum et plurium aliorum hereticorum et specialiter *Ludovici predicti, Michaelis de Cesena*, olim generalis ministri antedicti, pessimorum hereticorum et scismaticorum... in processo contra *Marcilium de Padua...*"

⁵⁵ Nándor Knauz, ed., *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 1, *Ab a. 979. ad a. 1273.* (Esztergom: Horák Egyed, 1874), 373: "Innocentius PP. IV. 'ut Ecclesia Strigon., quae sub vocabulo s. Adalberti Confessoris conscripta esse dignoscitur, congruis honoribus frequentetur,' unius anni et 40 dierum indulgentias largitur 'omnibus vere poenitentibus et confessis, qui in Nativitatis, Epiphaniae, Resurrectionis, Ascensionis, Corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ac Pentecostes et s. Trinitatis, et in singulis quatuor principalibus B. Mariae V. gloriosae, ac b. Petri et Pauli, necnon in sanctorum Gregorii, Ambrosii, Augustini, Hieronymi, ac Stephani, Ladislai, ac Emerici Confessorum et Adalberti predicti festivitibus et in die Coene eiusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Ecclesiam predictam devote visitaverint.'"

Although the Esztergom cathedral was one of the cultural centers of Hungary in the Middle Ages,⁵⁶ the student of the medieval book culture of Esztergom encounters serious difficulties. First of all, the Mongol invaders destroyed the city of Esztergom in 1242, destroying the major part of the manuscripts of the cathedral library, too.⁵⁷ Secondly, during the Ottoman occupation of Esztergom (1543-1683), the cathedral library had to move to the city of Nagyszombat (today Trnava in Slovakia). It was not until 1820 that the whole library could move back to its original place in Esztergom. In the meantime, of course, a considerable quantity of its manuscripts was dispersed in the region. On the other hand, the library was frequently endowed by the new acquisitions of bibliophile archbishops.⁵⁸

Therefore, one has to avoid a double risk: first, one must not omit codices originating from medieval Esztergom which are now kept in various Central European libraries, such as

⁵⁶ Kinga Körmendy, "Literátusok, magiszterek, doktorok az esztergomi káptalanban" (Literates, masters, and doctors in the Esztergom chapter), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Studies in the cultural history of medieval Hungary), ed. Erik Fügedi (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1986), 176-202. Although the late fifteenth-century private library of János Vitéz, the humanist archbishop of Esztergom, is out of the scope of this study, it is necessary to refer to this as well. See the monograph of Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984). On the presence of the works of St. John of Capestrano in the library of János Vitéz, see J. Adolf Zsák, "Egy ismeretlen Vitéz-kódex: A vatikáni Palatina könyvtár hazai vonatkozásai" (An unknown Vitéz codex: the Hungarian relations of the Palatina library in the Vatican), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 15.3 (1907): 209-10.

⁵⁷ "Quomodo Tartari Strigonium destruxerunt," see the vivid description of Rogerius, "Carmen miserabile," in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. László Juhász and Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), 584-5. A poetic description of the losses of the churches is the "Planctus destructionis regni Hungariae per Tartaros," *ibid.*, 595:

"Liber vite lacerantur,
sacerdotes trucidantur,
crux et calix confiscantur,
cessant ministeria."

It is a typical Central European phenomenon that one of the manuscripts containing this *Planctus* survived in the library of Wrocław in Poland. See Henrik Marczali, "Árpádkori emlékek külföldi könyvtárakban, 2." (Monuments of the Árpád age in foreign libraries, 2.), *Történelmi Tár* 25-26 (1878): 369-76.

⁵⁸ See the studies of Kinga Körmendy, *A Knauz-hagyaték kódextöredékei és az esztergomi egyház középkori könyvtárának sorsa* (The codex fragments of the Knauz bequest and the history of the medieval library of the Esztergom cathedral) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1979) and "Az esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, a ferences rendház és a Babits Mihály Városi Könyvtár állományának történeti áttekintése" (A historical survey of the stocks of the Cathedral Library, the Franciscan convent, and the Babits Mihály Municipal Library in Esztergom), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 107.1-2 (1991): 20-40. On early modern sources, for the purpose of reconstructing medieval libraries, see Paul Lehmann, "Quellen zur Feststellung und Geschichte mittelalterlicher Bibliotheken, Handschriften und Schriftsteller," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 40.1 (1920): 44-105.

those of Bratislava, Prague, Vienna, or even Salzburg;⁵⁹ and conversely, one should not attribute uncritically to medieval Esztergom all the manuscripts that are kept there today.⁶⁰ For example, it would be tempting to say that a certain mid-fifteenth-century codex, containing texts that had been written under Hussite influence, belonged to the medieval cathedral library of Esztergom simply because it is kept there nowadays. This might suggest that it is worth looking for Hussite influence amongst the canons reading these texts in fifteenth-century Esztergom. However, this hypothesis would be falsely based on a mere assumption about the provenance of the codex. In fact, this codex has its parallels in the Prague University Library and was never a part of the medieval library of Esztergom.⁶¹

Instead, we have a type of primary source to use for establishing the items of disintegrating medieval libraries around Esztergom, namely that of wills. Clerics, feeling their last hour approaching, often compiled an inventory of their properties, with their valuable books among them.⁶² One of them is Master Muthmerius, provost of the church of St. Martin in Szepes, in the diocese of Esztergom. In 1273, he made a small register of his own books (*omnes libros nostros*). This register survived in a charter. Apart from his Bible, his liturgical

⁵⁹ Menyhért Zalán, "Árpád-kori magyar vonatkozású kéziratok az osztrák kolostorok kéziratáraiban" (Manuscripts concerning Árpadian Hungary in the manuscript stores of Austrian monasteries), *Pannonhalmi Szemle* 1.1 (1926): 46-62; Kinga Körmendy, "Középkori esztergomi könyvgyűjtemények" (Medieval book collections in Esztergom), *Ars Hungarica* 17.1 (1989): 42-3; and Janka Szendrei, "Esztergomi Breviarium Notatum Prágában" (A Breviarium Notatum of Esztergom in Prague), in *Tanulmányok a középkori magyarországi könyvkultúráról* (Studies on medieval Hungarian book culture), ed. László Szelestei Nagy (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1989), 137-154.

⁶⁰ See András Vizkelety, ed., *Mittelalterliche lateinische Handschriftenfragmente in Esztergom* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993).

⁶¹ Kinga Körmendy, "15. századi eszméletörténeti kérdések az esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár Ms. II. 7. jelzetű kódexében" (Problems of fifteenth-century cultural history in the codex Ms. II. 7. of the Esztergom Cathedral Library), in *Tanulmányok a középkori magyarországi könyvkultúráról* (Studies on medieval Hungarian book culture), ed. László Szelestei Nagy (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1989), 183-201.

⁶² The donation of books is analyzed from an anthropological point of view by Natalie Zemon Davis, "Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 69-88. Furthermore, see Susan Connell, "Books and Their Owners in Venice 1345-1480," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 163-86.

and legal books, he mentions two of the most widely-read, although by the late thirteenth-century a bit obsolete, theological texts in the Middle Ages: the *Liber sententiarum* of Peter Lombard and the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor.⁶³ Four years later, in 1277, we have the much more detailed bequest of Master Ladislás, provost of the chapter of the Esztergom cathedral itself. He distributed his books to his fellow canons in the same chapter, to the convents of the Dominican and the Franciscan Friars in the city of Esztergom, and to the poor who probably tried to make money of them. His inventory has the same sort of biblical, liturgical, and legal books as that of Master Muthmerius. His collection of manuscripts containing theological texts, however, was greater. He possessed the *Soliloquia* of St. Augustine, the *Moralia in Iob* of St. Gregory the Great, the *Liber sententiarum* of Peter Lombard, and the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor.⁶⁴ It is probably more than pure coincidence that, at the end of the thirteenth century, Master Ladislás bequeathed his theological codices to the convent of the Dominicans in Esztergom (*relinquo fratribus predicatoribus de conventu Strigon.*), who must have been well-versed in the discipline of theology. Bequeathing books to the Dominican Friars must have been a widespread custom in

⁶³ Nándor Knauz, ed., *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 2, *Ab a. 1273. ad a. 1321.* (Esztergom: Buzárovits Gusztáv, 1882), 27: "Item dedimus eidem ecclesie beati Martini omnes libros nostros, videlicet Bibliam, decretum, decretales, storiā scolasticā, librum sententiarum, passionalem, pastorem, libros sermonum."

⁶⁴ Ibid., 71-2: "Item Bybliam meam et volumen meum institutam autenticum et tres libros codicis in uno volumine, relinquo pro reformatione predicti molendini... Libri autem, quos ad debita et ad vendendum et distribuendum pauperibus pro anima mea relinquo, sunt Hij: decretum cum apparatu Johannis Theutonici; Decretales cum apparatu Bernardij; Dygestum vetus inforciatum, Digestum novum; Sumpma Achonis; Codex; Liber sententiarum; Scolastica ystoria et Breviarium; Item Moralia Gregorij, in uno volumine completa, relinquo fratribus predicatoribus de conventu Strigon. Item Soliloquia augustini, cum multis libris eiusdem in uno volumine, relinquo fratri Marcello, filio Marcelli. Item Disticciones Mauricii per alphabetum super dictionibus Theologicis et Psalterium glosatum, fratribus Minoribus de Strigonio. Item Epistolas Pauli cum apparatu interciso relinquo Magistro R., preposito sancti Thome. Item Sumpmam Goffridi Magistro A., preposito Poson." The bequests of Muthmerius and Ladislás are examined by Remig Békefi, *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the chapter schools in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910), 331-2. Furthermore, see Endre Ivánka, "László mester esztergomi prépost könyvtára 1277-ben" (The 1277 library of Master Ladislás, provost of Esztergom), *Theologia* 4.3 (1937): 216-26. For the 1387 will of an other Ladislás, provost of the Gyulafehérvár cathedral in Transylvania, see György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 10.2 (Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1834), 376-7. Ladislás, whose will was confirmed by Bishop Emericus, bequeathed his books (*libros suos*) to his two daughters.

the later Middle Ages: the same happened to the library of Cardinal John of Ragusa in 1433.⁶⁵ Of this type of primary source, two more examples from the mid-fourteenth century should be quoted here, from the close environs of Esztergom. In 1343, the will of Master Thomas, canon of Pozsony and parish priest of the church of St. Nicholas in Püspöki, contains liturgical books only. What is curious in this case is his personal adherence to his own breviary: after his death, he wanted his favorite book to be buried next to his mortal remains (*Item breviarium meum, cum funere meo deferri lego.*)⁶⁶ In 1348, the bequest of John, provost of the church of St. Martin in Szepes in Upper Hungary, mentions legal and liturgical books.⁶⁷ The lack of theological texts in both of these latter wills implicitly illustrates the relative eminence of Esztergom as a center of theological learning in the region.

Another type of primary source for reconstructing the collection of the medieval library of Esztergom is the record of the *canonica visitatio* of its cathedral. In 1397, apart from various practical and spiritual matters, an ecclesiastical delegation was to examine the necessary equipment of the library as well.⁶⁸ This delegation also inquired into the organization of the lecturing and teaching in the cathedral school: *Item dominus lector tenetur providere ut ipse sublector debitum faciat in legendo praefatas lectiones et informando scolares.*⁶⁹ Most of the medieval and modern library catalogues of the Esztergom cathedral bear witness to the fact

⁶⁵ B. Altaner, "Zur Geschichte der Handschriftensammlung des Kardinals Johannes von Ragusa," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 47.4 (1927): 730-2.

⁶⁶ Ludovicus Crescens Dedeck, ed., *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 3, *Ab a. 1321. ad a. 1349.* (Esztergom: Buzárovits Gusztáv, 1924), 507-8: "Item librum meum manuale capelle sancti regis Ladizlai de Posonio lego. Item librum meum missalem ecclesie sancti Nicolai de Pyspuky lego... Item breviarium meum, cum funere meo deferri lego."

⁶⁷ Ibid., 668: "Similiter et libros nostros decretales et alios, excepto breviario, quod ecclesie sancti Johannis Baptiste in dicta Juanusy conferimus, dicte ecclesie nostre legamus."

⁶⁸ The material is edited and commented by Ferencz Kollányi, "Visitatio Capituli E. M. Strigoniensis anno 1397, 1.," *Történelmi Tár* 2.1 (1901): 76: "Item si ipsa ecclesia habeat libros ad usum ipsius necessarios, et quot et quales, et an reparatione indigeant, et quis ad illorum reparationem superintendat et teneatur?"

⁶⁹ Ibid., 92. The text goes on: "Item tenetur ipse dominus lector per se, vel per suum sublectorem sive magistrum, aut alio quem dominus archi-eoiscopus deputaret, ordinandos in lectura examinare."

that the members of the delegation of this *canonica visitatio* in 1397 must have been satisfied with the results of their inquiry.

Although we have already made notice of the serious risks of false attributions of books to the medieval cathedral library of Esztergom on the basis of uncertain provenance, some modern catalogues are of considerable use. At least, they can serve as a starting point to compile a list of the theological texts possessed with more or less probability by the medieval library of the Esztergom cathedral. The following authors and works can be taken into account: St. Ambrose, *In hexaemeron*; St. Augustine, *Soliloquia*, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, and the *De corporis et animae misera vita* attributed to him; St. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, *Commentaria in Cantica canticorum*, and *Epistolae*; a certain *De sapientia* attributed to St. Anselm of Canterbury; Peter Lombard, *Liber sententiarum*; Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*; St. Thomas Aquinas, *De fide et sacramentis*; and Jean Gerson, *Sermones de salutatione angelica*.⁷⁰ One should always bear in mind that most of these works can be found in so-called *colligata*, that is, codices that consisted of different texts and even different types of parchments bound together, or in simple codices that contain multiple texts. The manuscript of the *Epistolae* of St. Gregory the Great is of considerable interest because of its provenance. There is a marginal note on one of its leaves stating that it derives from the abbey of Moissac (*ex abbazia Moissiacensi*), one of the Benedictine monasteries affiliated to that of Cluny in Southern France.⁷¹ The *De corporis et animae misera vita* mentioned above, bound together with one of the copies of Peter Lombard's *Liber sententiarum*, also has an inscription, a royal dedication from the early sixteenth-century Jagello king of Hungary and Bohemia, Louis II to

⁷⁰ Ferencz Ocskovszky, "Az esztergomi főegyház könyvtára 2." (The Esztergom cathedral library, 2.), *Religio* 1.4 (1856): 27-9; János Csontos, "Az esztergomi főegyházi könyvtár kéziratái" (The manuscripts of the Esztergom cathedral library), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 7.3 (1882): 306-35.

⁷¹ Paul Lehmann, "Handschriften und Handschriftenbruchstücke des 8-15. Jahrhunderts in Esztergom," *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 62.4-9 (1938): 168-9. The same article has been reprinted in his *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1961), 83-9.

the chapter of Esztergom: *Venerabilis Ludovicus dei gratia Rex Ungarie et Bohemie etc. fidelibus nostris Capitulo strigoniensi salutem et gratiam.*⁷² However, whether possessed by the cathedral library or not, the theological works listed above did not represent a deep interest in the discipline of theology at all, especially not in the late Middle Ages.

There is a separate group of manuscripts whose only common feature is that it is even more heavily debated whether they belonged to the cathedral library of medieval Esztergom. Due to problems of provenance, Hungarian scholars were forced to formulate different hypotheses concerning some fragments, manuscripts, and codices. The earliest of these manuscripts is an eighth-century fragment of the text of the *Vita Cuthberti metrica*, called *rhythmica* in this particular fragment, written by the Venerable Bede, which is kept today in the Budapest University Library. It is supposed to have been a part of a codex, copied in a Southern German *scriptorium* from a Southern English exemplar, which was carried to the Hungarian metropolitan cathedral, Esztergom, by missionary monks in the eleventh century. Its subsequent history is even less clear. After the Ottoman attack in the sixteenth century, the codex was perhaps rescued from Esztergom by the fleeing canons. The next trace leads to the library of the Jesuits in Pozsony, where the leaves of the codex were cut into pieces and used as raw material for the binding of early printed books.⁷³

Another fragment, which can be identified as a part of Ticonius's *Commentaria in Apocalypsim*, could have followed a very similar pattern of provenance. This exegetic work was copied in early Carolingian minuscule, probably in Northern Italy before the year 800. Although decisive proofs are missing, this codex is also supposed to have been an early piece in

⁷² After the recapture of the castle of Buda from the Ottomans in 1686, this codex, among many others, was carried to Vienna as booty by the Habsburg imperial troops. See Csaba Csapodi, "Magyarországi kódexek a bécsi Österreichische Nationalbibliothekban" (Hungarian codices in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 95.4 (1979): 397.

⁷³ László Mezey, "A budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár VIII. századi Beda-töredéke" (The eighth-century Bede fragment of the Budapest University Library), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 78.1 (1962): 18-24.

the eleventh-century Esztergom cathedral library, and thus, one of the oldest books in medieval Hungary.⁷⁴

The present-day Esztergom cathedral library holds a codex that contains a theological treatise of Rupert of Deutz⁷⁵ and a certain *Tractatus in Cantica canticorum*, probably compiled from the exegetical works of St. Gregory the Great, the Venerable Bede, Haymo of Auxerre, St. Anselm of Canterbury, Anselm of Laon, Peter Cantor, and Honorius Augustodunensis. The scholarly opinions on the dating and the use of this codex have been shifting constantly for more than a century. First, it was thought to have been copied in the late eleventh-century.⁷⁶ Then, it was cited as an example of the textbooks of the Esztergom cathedral school in the early twelfth century.⁷⁷ Finally, it was discovered that it was copied around the 1160s and 1170s in a Premonstratensian monastery in Bavaria.⁷⁸ In spite of all these hypotheses, the only exact date that connects this very important theological codex to the library of Esztergom cathedral is that a certain bibliophile archbishop of Esztergom bought it in Buda in 1861. This is a typical trap to avoid when dealing with the modern history of medieval manuscripts.

We have more exact data on two other textbooks written in Latin which were supposed not only to have been read but also to have been glossed in vernacular Hungarian in the same

⁷⁴ László Mezey, "Egy korai karoling kódextöredék (Ticonius in Apocalypsin?)" (An early Carolingian codex fragment: Ticonius in Apocalypsin?), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 92.1-2 (1976): 15-24. The same article has been published in French as well: "Un fragment de codex de la première époque carolingienne (Ticonius in Apocalypsin?)," in *Miscellanea codicologica*, ed. Pierre Cockshaw, Monique-Cécile Garand, and Pierre Jodogne, vol. 1 (Gand: E. Story - Scientia S. P. R. L. - Éditions Scientifiques, 1979), 41-50.

⁷⁵ The text is edited and commented by Lajos J. Csóka, "Ein unbekannter Brief des Abtes Rupert von Deutz," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seine Zweige* 84.3-4 (1973): 383-93.

⁷⁶ Nándor Knauz, "Két krónika 1. Az esztergomi rövid krónika" (Two chronicles, 1. The short chronicle of Esztergom), *Századok* 9.9 (1875): 623-5.

⁷⁷ István Mészáros, "Magyarországi iskoláskönyv a XII. század első feléből" (A Hungarian textbook from the first half of the twelfth century), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 77.3 (1961): 371-98.

⁷⁸ Lajos J. Csóka, "Az esztergomi főszékesegyházi könyvtár MS. III. 184. kódexe" (The codex MS. III. 184. of the Esztergom cathedral library), *Századok* 115.5 (1982): 969-85. For Bavaria in this context, see Peter Classen, "Zur Geschichte der Frühscholastik in Österreich und Bayern," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 67.3-4 (1959): 249-77.

Esztergom cathedral school. The earlier of the two, probably from the early thirteenth century, containing the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor, is now kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Lyell 70).⁷⁹ The later one, now in Vienna, originates from the early fifteenth century.⁸⁰

Finally, let us take a less problematic codex from the theological collection of the Esztergom cathedral library. It contains *Commentaria in Cantica canticorum*, a compilation from the works of Origen and Haymo of Auxerre. It was copied in the twelfth century and it has a separate leaf containing the following inscription only: HUNC CODICEM DEDIT PERNHARDUS SANCTO ADALBERTO. This codex was formally donated to St. Adalbert, the patron saint of the Esztergom cathedral.⁸¹ The *donator* was Bernard of Perugia, later archbishop of Spalato, a close friend of King Béla III and an instructor of his son, Prince Emericus.⁸² According to the generally accepted scholarly hypothesis, this codex must have been copied in a workshop near to Salzburg or somewhere in Bavaria, perhaps under the

⁷⁹ László Mezey, "Az oxfordi glosszák" (The Oxford glosses), *Magyar Nyelv* 77.3 (1981): 372-6.

⁸⁰ Edit Madas, "Bécsi glosszák" (The Vienna glosses), *Magyar Nyelv* 77.4 (1981): 506-10.

⁸¹ On the codex, see Elemér Varjú, "Bernát szpalatói érsek kódexsége az esztergomi főegyházmegyei könyvtárban" (The codex of Archbishop Bernard of Spalato in the Esztergom cathedral library), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 10.1-2 (1902): 199-201 and Tünde Wehli, "Perugiai Bernát kódexe" (The codex of Bernard of Perugia), in *Pannonia regia: Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541* (Pannonia regia: art in the Transdanubian region 1000-1541), ed. Árpád Mikó and Imre Takács (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994), 225-7.

⁸² On Bernard of Perugia, see the mid-thirteenth-century description of Thomas of Spalato, "Historia Salonitanorum," in *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendendum ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCCII*, ed. Ferencz Albin Gombos, vol. 3 (Budapest: Academia Litterarum de Sancto Stephano Rege Nominata, 1938), 2228: "Erat autem in comitatu eius clericus quidam, capellanus ipsius, Bernardus nomine de provincia Tuscie, patria Perusinus, vir litteratus et eloquens, statura procerus; his quia frequenter in Hungariam fuerat missus, notus erat effectus regi Belle, graciamque ipsius et multorum principum et prelatorum Hungarie habebat, ita ut rex ipse filium suum Henricum ei nutriendum traderet et docendum." The cultural role of Bernard of Perugia in the Hungarian court and his donation is treated by Tibor Kardos, *Középkori kultúra, középkori költészet: A magyar irodalom keletkezése* (Medieval culture, medieval poetry: the formation of Hungarian literature) (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1941), 68-9. More detailed studies can be found in Edith Hoffmann and Tünde Wehli, *Régi magyar bibliofílek* (Old Hungarian bibliophiles) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Intézete, 1992), 214-5. Furthermore, see the articles of Tünde Wehli, "Megjegyzések a középkori magyarországi könyvgyűjtőkről és könyvgyűjtési szokásaikról" (Remarks on medieval Hungarian book collectors and their customs), *Ars Hungarica* 23.1 (1995): 4 and "Középkori magyarországi könyvgyűjtők (1000-1526)" (Medieval Hungarian book collectors, 1000-1526), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 46.1-2 (1997): 125-9.

influence of the *scriptoria* in Regensburg. However, it has been argued recently that the codex was copied and illuminated in the *scriptorium* of the Esztergom cathedral itself.⁸³

One cannot speak properly about the medieval book culture of Esztergom without mentioning the institution of the *Collegium Christi*. It was a college founded by the cathedral chapter in Esztergom at the end of the fourteenth century in order to provide poor students with scholarship support to cover their expenses and especially their teachers with appropriate salaries. The underlying principles of this foundation had already been set up by the Third Lateran Council under Pope Alexander III in 1179⁸⁴ and by the Fourth Lateran Council under Pope Innocent III in 1215.⁸⁵ Although these constitutions directing the system of the cathedral schools have been dealt with in depth in the international scholarly literature, their effects in Hungary are still unclear.⁸⁶ By 1309, these principles had been adopted in Hungary as well as everywhere else in Europe: the synod of Buda repeated the constitutions of the two Lateran Councils almost word by word.⁸⁷

⁸³ Ilona Berkovits, "Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár" (Cathedral Library), in *Esztergom műemlékei* (The artistic monuments of Esztergom), vol. 1, *Múzeumok, kincstár, könyvtár* (Museums, treasury, library), ed. István Genthon (Budapest: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1948), 291-2; Tünde Wehli, "Perugiai Bernát kódexe és a Pray-kódex helye a középkori magyar könyvfestészetben" (The place of the codex of Bernard of Perugia and the Pray codex in medieval Hungarian book illumination), *Ars Hungarica* 3.2 (1975): 197-200; and Csaba Csapodi, "Az esztergomi kódexfestő műhely a 12. században" (The workshop of codex illumination in Esztergom in the twelfth century), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 114.1 (1998): 41-2.

⁸⁴ Joannes Dominicus Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 22, *Ab anno MCLXVI usque ad annum MCCXXV* (Venice: Antonius Zatta, 1778), 227-8: "ne pauperibus, qui parentum opibus juvari non possunt, legendi & proficiendi opportunitas subtrahatur, per unamquemque ecclesiam cathedralem magistro, qui clericos ejusdem ecclesiae & scholares pauperes gratis doceat, competens aliquod beneficium assignetur, quo docentis necessitas sublevetur & discentibus via pateat ad doctrinam."

⁸⁵ Ibid., 999: "Quia nonnullis propter inopiam & legendi studium & oppurtunitas proficiendi subtrahitur, in Lateranensi consilio pia fuit institutione provisum, ut per unamquemque cathedralem ecclesiam magistro, qui clericos ejusdem ecclesiae aliosque scholares pauperes gratis instrueret, aliquod competens beneficium praeberetur quo & docentis relevarentur necessitas & via pateret discentibus ad doctrinam."

⁸⁶ See Charles-Joseph Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, vol. 5.2 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané Editeurs, 1913), 1101 and 1341; H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (St. Louis, MO and London, WI: B. Herder Book Co., 1937), 229-30 and 252-3; Richard William Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1967), 185-6.

⁸⁷ György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 8.5 (Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1835), 49-50. The Hungarian adoption of the constitutions of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 is

Previously, in 1290, Andrew III attempted unsuccessfully to found a *studium theologiae* in Esztergom with the help of the Austin canons.⁸⁸ However, it was not until the end of the fourteenth century that the canons of the cathedral chapter in Esztergom succeeded in founding such an institution. One of the first official mention of the *Collegium Christi* in the primary sources can be read in the record of the *canonica visitatio* of the cathedral in 1397. *Item in ipsa ecclesia Strigoniensi est Collegium Christi pauperum scolarium studere volentium, fundatum per magistrum Johannem de Buda, archidiaconum Barsiensem et canonicum Strigoniensem.*⁸⁹ Thus, the initiative was taken by a certain Master John of Buda, archdeacon of Bars and canon of Esztergom. The exact *terminus ante quem* is the year 1397. The *canonica visitatio* also contains the rules of the *Collegium Christi*. Under certain financial conditions, this institution was to promote the scholarly career of its best students by sending them to study abroad.⁹⁰ However, after three years of studies *extra regnum*, these students were required to return, probably with their new books bought abroad, to their *alma mater* in Esztergom and to demonstrate the proficiency they had gained by that time.⁹¹ In his bull in

treated by Remig Békefi, *Székesegyházi iskoláink szervezete az Anjou-korban* (The organization of Hungarian cathedral schools in the Angevin period) (Budapest: Athenaeum R. Társulat, 1897), 9.

⁸⁸ Nándor Knauz, ed., *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 2, *Ab a. 1273. ad a. 1321.* (Esztergom: Buzárovits Gusztáv, 1882), 275: "Hac consideratione interna, quo operante gracia potentissimi largitoris, ut *Studium Theologie et aliarum archium ibidem cum alijs ministerijs Studiorum valeat, nostro mediante officio, aptissime collocari et Jugiter exerceri.*"

⁸⁹ Ferencz Kollányi, "Visitatio Capituli E. M. Strigoniensis anno 1397, 2.," *Történelmi Tár* 2.2 (1901): 241. For a general survey of the history and historiography of the *Collegium Christi*, see István Mészáros, "Az esztergomi középkori Collegium Christi" (The medieval Collegium Christi in Esztergom), *Századok* 118.2 (1984): 342-60.

⁹⁰ Ferencz Kollányi, "Visitatio Capituli E. M. Strigoniensis anno 1397, 2.," *Történelmi Tár* 2.2 (1901): 242: "Et talis praesidens semper tenetur eligere aliquos pauperes scolares, studiosos tamen, et illos mittere extra regnum ad loca studii ubi proficere valeant, talibusque et Collegio ipso expensas ministrare tenetur, quibus vivere valeant in loco studii; ita tamen, ut quando tales studentes ad pinguiorem fortunam venient, tenentur persolvere ipsi Collegio Christi omnem pecuniam, quam inde pro suo studio levaverunt; si autem morientur sine aliqua fortuna dominii, tunc expediti erunt a solutione."

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 263: "propterea ordinatum est et conclusum, ut omnes illi domini de capitulo, qui ut praemisum est se extra regnum causa studendi contulerint, in fine tertii anni ad ecclesiam reverti debeant et teneantur, ubi in scientia quam studuerunt qualiter profecerint examinentur, quia, ut experientia docuit, quandocumque tales non studio insistent, sed alijs lascivijs et ribalderijs dant operam, propter quos ecclesia nostra verecundiam non modicam percipere solet, prout percepit aliquotiens." The rules of the *Collegium Christi* refer to other cases, as

1399, Pope Boniface IX confirmed the establishment of the *Collegium Christi*, together with its theological faculty.⁹²

The *Collegium* flourished in the fifteenth century, during the reign of King Sigismund of Luxembourg.⁹³ In spite of the uniqueness of this phenomenon in the cultural history of medieval Hungary, the library of the *Collegium* is still far from being completely reconstructed. Probably, it will never be reconstructed perfectly. Nevertheless, we have evidence of two manuscripts containing theological texts. They are kept in Vienna today, but their inscriptions suggest that they must have been used in the *Collegium Christi* in Esztergom. The origin of the first of them is earlier than the foundation of the *Collegium Christi* itself, because it was copied at the very beginning of the fourteenth century. However, this manuscript of the *Manipulus florum* of Thomas of Hibernia has an inscription: *Collegii Christi*. The second one originates from the fifteenth century and contains the *Commentarius in librum sententiarum* of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, professor of theology at the university of Vienna in the early fifteenth

well. For instance, see the paragraph "*Poena visitantium tabernas*," *ibid.*, 264. The everyday-life of medieval students has been examined by Charles Homer Haskins, "The Life of Mediaeval Students as Illustrated by Their Letters," in *Studies in Mediaeval Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 1-35.

⁹² *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia*, vol. 1.4, *Bullae Bonifacii IX. P. M.: Pars altera, 1396-1404* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1889), 119: "Exhibita siquidem nobis nuper pro parte dilecti filii Johannis Marci, canonici ecclesie Strigoniensis et archidiaconi Borsiensis in eadem ecclesia, petitio continebat... per literarum studia divini nominis et fidei katholice cultus protenditur... ad exaltationem fidei orthodoxe et divini cultus huiusmodi augmentum quoddam Collegium pauperum Scolarum, qui literarum studium in loco, ubi illud vigeat generale, in qualibet licita facultate insistere debeant... antiquior pro tempore ex dicto Collegio in theologia, medicina, vel artibus Magister aut iuris civilis vel canonici Doctor aut in aliqua facultatum earumdem potiore gradum habens..."

⁹³ Mátyás Laky, *Művelődésünk tényezői Zsigmond alatt: Műveltségtörténeti vázlat* (The elements of Hungarian culture in the time of Sigismund: a study in cultural history) (Budapest: Buschmann F. Könyvnyomdája, 1876), 34, 41; János Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei Szent Istvántól Mohácsig* (The beginnings of Hungarian literary culture from St. Stephen until the battle of Mohács) (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1931), 55, 98; Kinga Körmeny, "Írástudók és műveltségük a 14-15. századi Esztergomban" (Intellectuals and their culture in Esztergom in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 113.2 (1997): 125-33.

century.⁹⁴ Its inscription says the same as that of the first manuscript: *Collegii Christi Strigoniensis liber*.⁹⁵

The leading role of Esztergom in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of medieval Hungary must have predetermined the intellectual standards of the private libraries of the canons as well as the cathedral library itself. However rich the cathedral library may have been, it can not be reconstructed with the help of the scattered source material only. The missing, obviously destroyed or lost, medieval library catalogues can be supplemented with wills, inscriptions, visitation protocols, and modern book lists but cannot be replaced by them. The effort to detect the medieval theological collection clearly shows that. Nevertheless, via the technical problems occurring, the case of Esztergom brings the student of its book culture closer to the limits of the reconstruction of a medieval Hungarian cathedral library.

⁹⁴ For Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, see Paul Uiblein, "Zur Lebensgeschichte einiger Wiener Theologen des Mittelalters," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 74.1-2 (1966): 98-107.

⁹⁵ Csaba Csapodi, "Magyarországi kódexek a bécsi Österreichische Nationalbibliothekban" (Hungarian codices in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 95.4 (1979): 393 and 396; Kinga Körmendy, "Az esztergomi Collegium Christi és könyvára a XIV-XVI. században" (The Collegium Christi in Esztergom and its library from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 99.1 (1983): 15-6; István Mészáros, "Középkori hazai iskoláskönyvek" (Medieval Hungarian textbooks), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 102.2-3 (1986): 120-1.

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Pre cunctis tamen domus episcopatus Bezprimiensis, quam ipsa a fundamento ceptam omnibus sufficientiis ad servitium dei in auro vel argento vestimentisque multiplicibus nobiliter adornavit. Bishop Hartwic mentions that Queen Gisela, wife of St. Stephen, endowed the Veszprém bishopric in a royal manner.⁹⁶ This endowment created a tradition in medieval Hungary. The Veszprém cathedral, dedicated to St. Michael Archangel, had served as the regular coronation church and burial place of Hungarian queens for centuries.⁹⁷ The bishopric played an important role in the relationship of the Hungarian kings with the Papacy as well. From the time of the Árpád dynasty⁹⁸ to the age of the Renaissance,⁹⁹ the bishops of Veszprém were always in close contact with Rome - even during the crusades¹⁰⁰ or the Ottoman wars.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Hartwic, "Legenda sancti Stephani regis," in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. Emma Bartoniek and Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), 415.

⁹⁷ See László Solymosi, "Veszprémi püspökség története" (History of the Veszprém bishopric), in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század)* (Lexicon of the early history of Hungary: ninth to fourteenth century), ed. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 728.

⁹⁸ See the letter of Pope Innocent III to King Andrew II in 1212. Vilmos Fraknói, ed., *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, vol. 1, 1103-1276 (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1896), 20: "Inde siquidem fuit, quod venerabilem fratrem nostrum (Robertum) Vesprimensem episcopum, ad sedem apostolicam accedentem paterna benignitate suscepimus, et que tam per eum quam per tuas nobis litteras intimasti, pleno concepimus intellectu."

⁹⁹ Letter of King Matthew to Pope Innocent VIII in 1489. József Lukcsics, ed., *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, vol. 3, 1416-1492 (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1902), 313: "Nonnulla emergerunt, que medio oratoris mei, reverendi patris domini Johannis episcopi Vesprimiensis etc. sanctitati vestre perstrigenda putavi; cui supplico humiliter, dignetur illi benignas aures prebere ac eius relatibus perinde ac meis plenam et indubiam fidem adhibere."

¹⁰⁰ Letter of Pope Honorius III to Bishop Robert of Veszprém in 1220. Vilmos Fraknói, ed., *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, vol. 1, 1103-1276 (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1896), 46: "Honorius episcopus etc. Venerabili fratri... (Roberto) Vesprimiensi episcopo etc. Ex parte tua fuit nostris auribus intimatum, quod cum olim tibi nostris dederimus litteris in mandatis, ut eos qui crucis fuerint caractere insigniti, moneres, et percipiendo per censuras ecclesiasticas compelleres, ut exequerentur in instanti passagio vota sua, tu eos iuxta mandatum apostolicum ad id efficaciter monuisti..."

¹⁰¹ Letter of Pope Leo X to Bishop Berislaw Peter of Veszprém in 1516. József Lukcsics, ed., *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, vol. 4, 1492-1526 (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1907), 244: "Hortamur itaque te, ut pro nostra in te paterna sane benevolentia expectationeque ea et spe, quam de tua probitate magnitudinemque animi et religione ceterisque tuis virtutibus magnam atque mirificam semper habuimus, des operam, ut quibuscunque rebus poteris, istorum regnorum quieti et tranquillitati per te consulatur,

The chapter school of the Veszprém cathedral has been studied by Hungarian medievalists for a long time.¹⁰² The sources for the history of the school are scattered. In 1226, Bishop Robert issued a charter that contained a register of the salaries received by the clerics in the chapter. This register clearly shows that the *magistri sive rectores* of the chapter school were highly regarded by the bishop and the canons.¹⁰³

Nevertheless, the real significance of the school can be detected in the charters issued by kings and bishops. The texts of these charters tell a typical story of the internal affairs of medieval Hungary. In the early years of his reign, St. Stephen guaranteed the independence and the security of the church of St. Michael, that is the cathedral of Veszprém.¹⁰⁴ This *antiquum privilegium Sancti regis Stephani super multis possessionibus et iuribus episcopalibus* had pride of place in the archive of the bishopric throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁵ Two and a half centuries later, however, Bishop Paul had to obtain a confirmation of the privilege from King Béla IV.¹⁰⁶ In spite of all efforts to maintain the privilege, the year 1276

auctoritateque tua, qua multum polles, ad eam rem cum huiusce republice dignitate, que quidem in tua erga se illustri voluntate et studio libentissime conquiescit, maxime omnium atque imprimis utare."

¹⁰² See the old but still basic monographs of Remig Békefi, *A magyarországi káptalanok megalakulása és Szent Chrodegang regulája* (The formation of the Hungarian chapters and the rule of St. Chrodegang) (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1901), 30, 33-4; and *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the chapter schools in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910), 160-83.

¹⁰³ Vilmos Fraknoi, ed., *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, vol. 1, 1103-1276 (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1896), 67-8: "Cum autem sacerdotes in supradictis proventibus non consueverint percipere nisi terciam partem, et magistri sive rectores duas partes..."

¹⁰⁴ György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 1 (Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1829), 289-90: "in Vesprimiensi comitatu, in quo episcopalis, ut praedictum est, constructa est sedes... S. Michaëlis Vesprimiensis Ecclesia, quam Stephanus Sanctae illius Ecclesiae Episcopus regit... Regali denique iubemus potestate, ut nullus Dux, Marchio, Comes, Episcopus, Archiepiscopus, Vice-Comes, Iudex, vel Exactor, aut aliqua magna persona, vel parva regni nostri audeat contra statuere, praenominatae S. Michaëlis Vesprimiensis Ecclesiae, aut surripere... aut Stephano, illius Sanctae Ecclesiae Episcopo, suisque successoribus aliquid molestiae inferre praesumant."

¹⁰⁵ See Iván Borsa, "A veszprémi püspökség levéltárának első jegyzéke 1352-ből" (The first register of the archive of the Veszprém bishopric from 1352), *Levéltári Közlemények* 20-23 (1942-1945): 387 and Pál Lukcsics, "A veszprémi székeskáptalan levéltára" (The archive of the Veszprém cathedral chapter), *Levéltári Közlemények* 8 (1930): 167.

¹⁰⁶ György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 4.2 (Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1829), 431: "quod dilectus ac fidelis noster, Ven. in Christo Pat. Paulus, Episcopus Vesprimiensis personaliter ad nostram accedens presenciam, exhibuit nobis privilegium Sancti Regis Stephani,

proved to be disastrous for the Veszprém bishopric and its environs. In the late thirteenth century, the bishops of Veszprém became seriously involved in the internal feudal affairs of Hungary. Accordingly, the enemies of Bishop Peter led dangerous attacks against the territory of his bishopric.¹⁰⁷ They made assaults on the nunnery of the Holy Virgin, so that King Ladislas IV the Cuman recorded the events in a charter, saying that *populi monasterii B. Virginis gloriosae de valle Wesprim. per continuos et frequentes nostros et Barorum nostrorum descensus miserabiliter destructi sint plurimum et afflicti...*¹⁰⁸

In 1276, King Ladislas issued another charter as well, concerning the calamities of the Veszprém bishopric, which is of outstanding importance from the point of view of the cultural history of medieval Hungary. The text says that the cathedral school of Veszprém should be restored to its former rights and estates because the *liberalium arcium studia, per que mandata maxime divina manifestius declarantur*, had been flourishing there *prout Parisiis in Francia*.

petens nos cum instancia, ut tenorem eiusdem privilegii nostris litteris inserendo, sigillo nostro confirmare dignaremur."

¹⁰⁷ On the feudal struggles between the families of Bishop Peter of Veszprém, the Kőszegi, and the Csák, see Gyula Kristó, "A Kőszegiek kiskirálysága" (The petty kingdom of the Kőszegi), in *Tanulmányok az Árpád-korról* (Studies on the Árpád age) (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1983), 241-68; and Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* (The last Árpadians) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1993), 287-8. According to the letter of Bishop Stephen of Kalocsa to Pope John XXI, similar struggles led to the pillage of the Transylvanian Gyulafehérvár cathedral in 1277: "ecclesiam Transsilvaniam... congregata multitudine sue nationis novissime de partibus elevato vexillo ecclesiam obsidens kathedralem expugnavit et ea optenta seu occupata dispersis sanctuariis et reliquiis in plateis, calices, libros, cruces, vasa, sigilla capituli, indumenta sacerdotalia et omnia ornamenta ipsius ecclesie, pro dolor, in usus suorum inmundissimorum distribuit sociorum et feritate demum usus tartarica ipsam combussit, octo canonicos, quatuor archidiaconos et alios quamplures sacerdotes ac clericos de choro et circa duo milia Ungarorum utriusque sexus, qui causa defensionis in gremium ecclesie confugerant, in ipsa ecclesia flamme incendio concremavit." Quoted by Emil Jakubovich, "A gyulafehérvári könyvpusztítás 1277-ben" (The destruction of the books in Gyulafehérvár in 1277), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 30.1-2 (1923): 139-40.

¹⁰⁸ György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 5.2 (Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1829), 329: "quod cum populi monasterii B. Virginis gloriosae de valle Wesprim. per continuos et frequentes nostros et Baronum nostrorum descensus miserabiliter destructi sint plurimum et afflicti; ita ut idem monasterium ad exaninationem extremam virtutis deductum, et collapsum, ulterius non adiciens ut resurget, et Sanctimonialia, Deo devotae ac Genetrici eiusdem omnipotentis Dei iugiter famulantes, in tantas calamitates paupertatis et inediae ac egestates sustentationis deuenissent, ut eadem ulterius in ipso residentiam commode facere non valerent, nec per easdem divinae laudis organa possent salubriter decantari..."

Thus, the charter proudly implies that the studies at the cathedral school of Veszprém wished to emulate those at the university of Paris in France in the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁹

The interpretation of the bold parallel between the cathedral school of Veszprém and the university of Paris raised a hot debate in the scholarly literature. Was there a university of Veszprém in the Middle Ages or not? Some scholars argued that the cathedral school of Veszprém had developed into a university, so that they could interpret it as a forerunner of the fourteenth-century royal foundations of Hungarian universities.¹¹⁰ Most scholars, however, maintain opposing views of the same problem. They point out that a cathedral school can not even be identified with a simple *studium generale*, not to mention a university.¹¹¹ It is doubtful whether the university of Paris served as a model for the cathedral school of Veszprém to follow at all.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 347: "Noticie patent universorum, quod in Vesprimiensi civitate, a tempore, quo in Hungaria... catholica, Dei dono, liberalium arcium studia, per que mandata maxime divina manifestius declarantur, prout Parisiis in Francia, doctrine docencium preeminencia, et copiosa discencium... regni Hungarie Ecclesiis fama florida crebrescente celebritate hactenus corruscavit et cultus iusticie ad regni iura conservanda inibi obtinuit principatum, civitate exagitata saepius in lucem... nunc, malignitate persecutorum eiusdem Ecclesie faciente, pene radicitus fuerant in cinerem et favillam. Cuius nos destructioni et vastacioni miserandi compassione condescendere cupientes... ex animo aspirantes, ut ibidem studium, quod hactenus floruerat, reformetur et cultus iusticie, divineque laudis organa, que suspensa fuerant, restaurentur..." The destruction *pene radicitus... in cinerem et favillam* is also reflected in the charter of Bishop Peter in 1276, *ibid.*, 368: "demum exigente diri temporis pravitate, Ecclesia ipsa adversitatum procellis saevius concussa, ad exaninationem virtutis extremæ, et quasi ad irreparabilis desolationis discrimen, malignorum incursibus, miserabiliter est perducta." For the 1276 charter of King Ladislas IV the Cuman, see Imre Szentpétery and Iván Borsa, eds., *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, vol. 2.2-3, *Diplomata regum Hungariae ab anno MCCLXXII. usque ad annum MCCXC. complectentia* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961), 173-4.

¹¹⁰ See Jenő Ábel, *Egyetemeink a középkorban* (Hungarian universities in the Middle Ages) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1881), 3-9, Herbert Schönebaum, "Die ungarischen Universitäten im Mittelalter," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 16 (1926): 45, and Jenő Gutheil, "Veszprém árpádkori jogi főiskolája: Az első magyar egyetem" (The high school of law in Veszprém in the Árpád age: the first Hungarian university), *Vigilia* 26.8 (1961): 459-68.

¹¹¹ Remig Békefi, "Árpádkori közoktatásügyünk és a veszprémi egyetem létkérdése, 2." (The Hungarian public education in the time of the Árpád dynasty and the problem of the existence of a university in Veszprém, 2.), *Századok* 30.4 (1896): 310-37.

¹¹² István Hajnal, "Árpád-kori oklevélíráások és a francia egyetemek" (Árpád-age diplomatics and the French universities), in *Technika, művelődés: Tanulmányok* (Technique and culture: studies) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1993), 9. Furthermore, see Egyed Hermann, *A katolikus egyház története Magyarországon 1914-ig* (A history of the catholic church in Hungary until 1914) (Munich: Aurora Könyvek, 1973), 62-3, Csaba Csapodi, "Ungarische Bibliotheksgeschichte: Vom Mittelalter bis zum Frieden von Szatmár (1711)," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 59 (1984): 334, István Mészáros, *Az iskolaügy története Magyarországon 996-1777 között* (A history of education in Hungary between 996 and 1777) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), 55 and "Iskolázás" (Education), in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század)*

Another charter of King Ladislas IV the Cuman from the same year, 1276, mentions the losses to the Veszprém cathedral. Among others, the charter records the value of the lost books of the library. *Libri ecclesiastici ad valorem trium millium marcarum... et in libris mille marcas habuit ad valorem, exceptis libris iuris Canonici et Civilis quindecim personarum de Capitulo doctorum iuris utriusque...*¹¹³ The text gives information on the value of the *libri ecclesiastici*, that is, the liturgical books, with the exception (*exceptis libris*) of the legal books belonging to members of the chapter. Apart from the liturgical and legal codices, there must have been a great number of theological manuscripts in the cathedral library in the thirteenth century. However, there are no exact data on its holdings at that time. When dealing with the reconstruction of the medieval library of Veszprém, one can only go back as far as the early fifteenth century.¹¹⁴

The student of the medieval book culture of Veszprém is fortunate enough to have a primary source that contains a complete book list. This source is an inventory of the treasures of the cathedral chapter of Veszprém as they were found in the year 1435. Among other items, it has a register of the books of the library. On the basis of this original late medieval catalogue, it is possible to reconstruct the manuscript collection of Veszprém from that period.

The book list has five, more or less overlapping, divisions, such as the *Inventarium librorum missalium et aliorum librorum pro divinis officiis aptorum*, the *Missalia*, the *Ordo*

(Lexicon of the early history of Hungary: ninth to fourteenth century), ed. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 289, and László Solymosi, "Veszprémi iskola" (The school of Veszprém), *ibid.*, 727.

¹¹³ György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 7.2 (Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1832), 47.

¹¹⁴ As it had already been done to some extent by Remig Békefi, *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the chapter schools in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910), 333-6 and Pál Gulyás, "A könyv sorsa Magyarországon a legrégibb időktől napjainkig, 1." (A history of books in Hungary from the earliest times to the present, 1.), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 30.1-2 (1923): 43-4.

librorum ultra libros aptos ad divina mixtim in sacristia habitorum, the *Inventarium missalium et aliorum librorum*, and finally the *Inventarium de libris in sacristia habitis*.¹¹⁵

The inventory of the books begins with the *Pontificale* of Bishop Mesko of Veszprém (1334-1344): *Item unus liber cum grossissimis litteris, continens in se certas missas sollemnes et omnes benedictionales episcopales, quem fecit scribere dominus Mesko episcopus, habens tecturam de subtili tela, desuperque crucem sutam cum serico*.¹¹⁶ (Unfortunately, Bishop Mesko was not only a patron of scribes. In 1340, a charter mentioned that two canons of the Veszprém cathedral chapter, namely, Dean Nicholas and Master Ivánka, went to the chapter of Fehérvár in order to accuse Bishop Mesko of pawning the books of the chapter without the consent of the canons themselves.)¹¹⁷

The description of the *pontificale* in the catalogue serves as a model. The next entries basically follow the structure of this one: indication of the content, the form and the material quality of the codex. The name of the *donator* is also often mentioned. For instance, two liturgical books *donati sunt ecclesie per magistrum Ladislaum de Keresheg canonicum et quondam succentorem eiusdem ecclesie Wesprimiensis*.¹¹⁸ This entry illustrates that canons

¹¹⁵ See the description of the manuscript containing the catalogue by László Solymosi, "A veszprémi székesegyház leltára könyvjegyzékkel" (The inventory of the Veszprém cathedral with a book list), in *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon* (Codices in medieval Hungary), ed. András Vizkelety (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1986), 125. The book list has been edited twice by the same scholar, László Fejérpataky, "A veszprémi káptalan könyvtára a XV. század első felében" (The library of the Veszprém chapter in the first half of the fifteenth century), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 10.3 (1885): 137-51 and "A veszprémi káptalan kincseinek összeírása 1429-1437. évekből, 1." (The inventory of the treasures of the Veszprém chapter from the years 1429-1437, 1.), *Történelmi Tár* 21.3 (1886): 553-76. The 1886 edition is far more better, therefore, it will be quoted henceforth.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 569. For this *pontificale*, see the study of Kilián Szigeti, "Mesko veszprémi püspök (1334-44) Pontificaléja" (The Pontificale of Bishop Mesko of Veszprém, 1334-1344), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 88.1-2 (1972): 5-14; and the codicological description by Janka Szendrei, "Veszprémi pontificale" (The pontificale of Veszprém), in *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon* (Codices in medieval Hungary), ed. András Vizkelety (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1986), 110-1. For the use of this type of liturgical book in practice, see Gerhard Podhradsky, *Lexikon der Liturgie: Ein Überblick für die Praxis* (Innsbruck, Vienna, and Munich: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1962), 298-9.

¹¹⁷ See Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz, ed., *Veszprémi regeszták (1301-1387)* (Registers of Veszprém, 1301-1387) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1953), 133.

¹¹⁸ László Fejérpataky, "A veszprémi káptalan kincseinek összeírása 1429-1437. évekből, 1." (The inventory of the treasures of the Veszprém chapter from the years 1429-1437, 1.), *Történelmi Tár* 21.3 (1886): 569.

sometimes gave books, probably from their private libraries, to their own cathedral. Another entry says that a certain *graduale* was burnt in a cloister (*combustum est in claustro beate Katherine virginis*).¹¹⁹ This implies that the present inventory was compiled on the basis of an earlier one and that the cathedral lent books. The bishops also used to take books from the library as one can see in the case of a *missale*: *legatum est ecclesie per dominum Gregorium cantorem, quod ad presens dominus Symon episcopus modernus consuevit secum deferre*.¹²⁰

In certain cases, people lost the books they got from the library. This happened to a codex containing a legal work from the late twelfth-century by Huguccio of Pisa: *Item unus liber, qui vocatur Huguicio, legatus per magistrum Andreas Parvum, concessus fuerat per dominos de capitulo quondam Georgio de Saaar lectori solum ad legendum et restituendum, qui est amissus per eundem*.¹²¹ The catalogue records data on missing books as well. For instance, the *Expositio super Lucam* of St. Gregory the Great had been missing for a long time (*non invenitur, nec prius fuit inventa*).¹²²

The entry of the *Moralia in Iob* of St. Gregory the Great demonstrates that special features of the books also appear in the list: *Item moralia super Job cum ramusculis regum Hungarie...*¹²³ Apart from the text, this manuscript contained the family tree of the Hungarian kings. This case shows how readers used the books of a library. By the time of the compilation of the catalogue, another legal work, the *Clementina*, had been given to the church of Vác: *fuerit data ad ecclesiam Vaciensem*.¹²⁴ Sometimes, one can read the personal remarks of the

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 570.

¹²¹ Ibid., 571.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

writer of the inventory. One of them can be found next to the description of the *Speculum iudiciale* of the late thirteenth-century William Durand: *subtilis et utilis*.¹²⁵

Of course, there are false attributions in the catalogue as well. For instance, the book list attributes the *Liber scintillarum* to the Venerable Bede, although it is the work of the seventh-century Defensor of Ligugé.¹²⁶ Sometimes it is completely impossible to identify a book on the basis of its description in the catalogue. *Item quidam liber antiquus cum coopertorio antiquo ligneo, datrefactus in margine et corruptus, carens principio et fine*.¹²⁷ Finally, donors often gave books to only one specified chapel of the cathedral. For instance, there is an entry on *unum breviare novum... quod legavit dominus Johannes prepositus Wrsiensis ad fabricam capelle Sancti Spiritus*.¹²⁸

At the end of the fifteenth century, the Veszprém cathedral library also served as a lending library. This can be seen in a fragment of its inventory which was compiled between 1472 and 1504.¹²⁹ This source reveals the interests of the readers. The notes on this fragment indicate the books and the persons who borrowed them. Out of the twenty-four entries in the fragment, eighteen refer to books of canon law, five to theological books, and only one to a liturgical handbook (William Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*). The legal books borrowed contain the usual medieval texts, that is, the *Decretum* of Gratian, the *Decretales* of

¹²⁵ Ibid., 572.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 573.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 574.

¹²⁹ See the codicological description of the fragment by László Solymosi, "A veszprémi székesegyház leltára könyvkölcsönzési bejegyzésekkel" (The inventory of the Veszprém cathedral with records on book loans), in *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon* (Codices in medieval Hungary), ed. András Vizkelety (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1986), 125-6. The text and its analysis has been published by the same author, "Könyvhasználat a középkor végén (Könyvkölcsönzés a veszprémi székesegyházi könyvtárban)" (Book use in the late Middle Ages: book loan in the Veszprém cathedral library), in *Tanulmányok a középkori magyarországi könyvkultúráról* (Studies on medieval Hungarian book culture), ed. László Szelestei Nagy (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1989), 77-119.

Gregory IX, the *Liber sextus* of Boniface VIII, the *Clementina* of Clement V, and their commentaries.

Although the legal books constitute the bulk of the list, it is worth having a look at the works of the patristic authors. At Christmas, 1482, Master George, prior of the Dominican convent of St. Catherine in Veszprém, borrowed a codex of the *Etymologiae* of St. Isidore of Seville (*Ego magister Georgius prior predicator habeo apud me Isidorum Ethymologiarum in pergameno huius ecclesie in festo Nativitatis anno MCCCC8II*).¹³⁰ In 1487, Master Anthony of Zirc, canon of the Veszprém chapter, borrowed the last volume of an early printed book, the *Postilla super totam Bibliam* of Nicholas of Lyra (*item magister Anthonius de Zyrz habet ultimam partem Lyre*).¹³¹ In 1492, Master Martin of Páka, another canon of the same chapter, borrowed another printed book of St. Jerome, probably the *Vitae patrum antiquorum* (*ego magister Martinus Pakay canonicus Wesprimiensis fateor ad me recepisse librum Hieronimi in papiro impressum*).¹³² In the same year, Master George of St. Anne, another canon, borrowed a printed version of the *De civitate Dei* of St. Augustine (*Ego magister Georgius de Sancta Anna percepi librum Augustini De civitate Dei in papiro et in impressura*).¹³³ Finally, in 1496, Master Nicholas of Károly, canon of Veszprém, borrowed the *Epistolae* of St. Jerome (*ego magister Nicolaus Karoly de sacristia superiori a domino custode accepi Epistolam Ieronimi*).¹³⁴

Although this inventory has *incunabula* as well as codices, these printed books are at the end of a manuscript tradition (one has to listen to the careful distinction between parchment

¹³⁰ Ibid., 101.

¹³¹ Ibid., 102.

¹³² Ibid., 103.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

and paper), reflecting the preferences of the users of the Veszprém cathedral library. The readers obviously preferred canon law to theology and everyday legal affairs to studies at the school. Probably that is why one of the constitutions of the synod of the Veszprém diocese, held under the supervision of Bishop Peter Beriszló in 1515, had to stress the importance of the books used in the school: *Libros scholasticos sufficientes habete*.¹³⁵ The same protocol informs us about the role of the *scholares* in the divine office: *Nullus sacerdos solus vel absque candelis accensis missam dicat, sed unusquisque clericum vel scholarem habeat, qui sibi ad missam respondeat et cum quo, si voluerit, psalmos dicat*.¹³⁶ This helps to explain the canons' interest in the liturgical handbooks, like the "subtle and useful" *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of William Durand, as well as in the *psalteria*.

¹³⁵ László Solymosi, ed., *Constitutiones synodales ecclesiae Vesprimiensis anni MDXV* (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó and Balassi Kiadó, 1997), 69.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 70. For the legal background of the diocesan synod in Veszprém in 1515, see Alexander Szentirmai, "Die ungarische Diözesansynode im Spätmittelalter," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 78. *Kanonistische Abteilung* 47 (1961): 267-92.

The Zagreb Cathedral Library

Ante omnia autem est nota dignum, quod ecclesiae Zagrabiensis cathedralis est fundator rex Hungarorum S. Ladislaus. The book of the statutes of the Zagreb cathedral chapter, compiled between the years 1334 and 1354, begins with the declaration of the origin of the bishopric.¹³⁷ The Zagreb bishopric was founded by St. Ladislas, king of Hungary, between the years 1090 and 1095.¹³⁸ Its cathedral was dedicated to King St. Stephen of Hungary. Hungarian rule in Zagreb was consolidated by King Coloman, whose reputation as a learned king and a friend of the church was accepted and exploited by Pope Urban II. In his letter of 1096 to King Coloman, the Pope appreciated the King's *strenuitatem... Scripturis etiam ecclesiasticis eruditam*.¹³⁹

Among the documents illustrating the history of the Zagreb bishopric, there are some charters of crucial importance. Firstly, the earliest charter in connection with the foundation of the bishopric says that St. Ladislas wanted to establish a bridgehead in Zagreb for the sake of

¹³⁷ Flórián Mátyás, ed., *Historiae Hungaricae fontes domestici*, vol. 3 (Pécs: Michael Taizs, 1884), 262. This *Liber statutorum capituli Zagrabiensis* adds a longer description, *ibid*, 262-3: "Tempore autem eius regiminis notabilis in aliqua parte Schlavoniae, et in aliqua totaliter coepit vigere nomen Christi. Ipse etiam Zagrabiensem ecclesiam in honore sanctissimi regis Stephani fundaverat et multis possessionibus, iuribus et praerogativis dotaverat. Sed processu temporum advenientibus tartaris, et totum regnum Hungariae ac eius decorem flebiliter devastantibus, tempore domini Belae regis quarti, filii Andreae regis, patris beatae Elisabethae, privilegia ipsius ecclesiae metu ipsorum tartarorum fuerunt asportata pro conservatione in insulam marinam Arbum vocatam, nec exinde potuerunt omnia reberi."

¹³⁸ See Péter Rokay, "Zágrábi püspökség története" (History of the Zagreb bishopric), in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század)* (Lexicon of the early history of Hungary: ninth to fourteenth century), ed. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 739-40. On the Hungarian rule and the ecclesiastical organization in Zagreb, see Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, *Entstehung und Geschichte Zagrebs bis zum Ausgang des 14. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zum Städtewesen Südosteuropas im Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), 90-103 and 178-84.

¹³⁹ Urban II, "Epistola ad Colomannum Hungariae regem," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 151 (Paris: Garnier Freres, 1881), 480-1: "Audientes magnificentiam tuam omnipotentis Dei dispositione ad Ungarici regni regimen esse provectam, gaudio non modico exsultamus. Retulit enim nobis venerabilis filius noster Odilo, S. Aegidii abbas, strenuitatem tuam, praeter saecularem qua praecellis industriam, Scripturis etiam ecclesiasticis eruditam, et quod potissimum judicariam concedet potestatem, sanctorum canonum pollere scientia. Unde oportet te fili in Christo charissime, supra caeteros qui te in ejusdem regni regimine praecesserunt, tam pro tua quam pro commissorum tibi populorum salute curam gerere."

the *via veritatis* against the *error idolatrie*.¹⁴⁰ Secondly, in 1217, a charter of the crusader king of Hungary, Andrew II, records the same missionary intention in establishing the Zagreb diocese.¹⁴¹ Finally, a letter of Pope Gregory IX to the bishop of Zagreb, written in Rome in 1241, recalls the calamities of King Béla IV of Hungary who fled to the territory of the Zagreb bishopric because the Mongols invaded his country.¹⁴²

Parallel to the active political role of the bishopric, the chapter school was the center of the medieval book culture of the Zagreb cathedral.¹⁴³ As for the cultural background, the mid-fourteenth-century statutes of the chapter school contain some basic information. According to this source, the canons usually invited external professors to teach in their school: *Ut autem ad scholas nostras docendi facilius invitetur... Ut modum docendi inponamus scolastico, necessarium est, ex quo de hiis pro posse disponimus, ut scolares proficiant in doctrina*. The statutes mention the daily schedule of these *scholastici* as well. The *scholastici* taught Latin grammar in the morning, logic at noon, and grammar again in the evening: *de mane legat grammaticalia pro capacitate plurium audiencium necessaria et in meridie logicalia, quando eorum capaces habuerit auditores... ac post vespas immediate declinationibus insistat pro modulo singulorum, per quas pueri redduntur faciles ad proferendum latinum et*

¹⁴⁰ Ivan Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiæ metropolis regni Dalmatiæ, Croatiae et Slavoniæ*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Karl Albrecht, 1889), 1: "Regnante nobilissimo rege Ladisclauo... predictus rex, divina gratia inspirante, horum ceterorumque nobilium consilio zagrabiensem constituit episcopatum, videlicet ut quos error idolatrie a dei cultura extraneos fecerat, episcopalis cura ad viam veritatis reduceret."

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 5: "quod cum essemus in exequendo itinere assumpte crucis, iniuriam crucifixi ulcisci volentes ad sanctam terram proficiscendo, venissemus ad zagrabiensem episcopatum, ac monasterium zagrabiense a sancto Ladizlao rege, sanctissime recordationis predecessore nostro, constructum, qui terram Sclavonie sive banatum ab errore ydolatrie ad christianitatem convertens, Hungarie subiugavit..."

¹⁴² Ibid., 14: "Cum, sicut et tenore litterarum karissimi in Christo filii nostri, Bele regis Vngarie non sine multa lacrimarum effusione didicimus, gentes Tartarorum, que non noverunt deum, regno Vngarie pro parte, sicut permisit dominus, occupato, non solum regni predicti residuum perdere cupiunt, sed etiam totam christianorum terram desertam ponere moluntur..."

¹⁴³ For the chapter school of the Zagreb cathedral, see Remig Békefi, *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the chapter schools in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910), 183-90 and István Mészáros, *Az iskolaügy története Magyarországon 996-1777 között* (A history of education in Hungary between 996 and 1777) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), 58-60.

intelligendum prolata. In spite of the instruction in Latin grammar and logic, the text points out that the works of the authorities do not seem to have been read regularly: *Auctores autem non videntur legendi ordinarie*.¹⁴⁴

Before trying to reconstruct the collection of the medieval library of Zagreb, the liturgical codices must be mentioned, firstly, because they were the earliest pieces in the library, due to the liturgical requirements of the new cathedral.¹⁴⁵ Secondly, these late eleventh-century illuminated liturgical codices illustrate the connection between the kingdom of Hungary and the influential *scriptoria* of Salzburg and Regensburg.¹⁴⁶

Apart from the liturgical codices, the Zagreb cathedral library had considerable, although by no means excellent in terms of contemporary Western European standards, theological holdings as well. There are relatively early data proving the fact that the library possessed some copies of the homilies of St. Gregory the Great. One of them, the *Homiliae super Ezechielem*, had already been part of the library's theological collection as early as in the twelfth century. Other *Homiliae* of St. Gregory the Great could be found in Zagreb in the thirteenth century. Another copy of the homilies of the same author in the cathedral library, which had been kept in the Cistercian monastery of St. Mary in Toplica, near Zagreb, in the middle of the fourteenth century, has a marginal note on one of its leaves recording a memorable event: one stormy night a thunderbolt stroke the belfry of the church (*Anno domini*

¹⁴⁴ Ivan Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagradiensis*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Karl Albrecht, 1874), 77-80.

¹⁴⁵ See Dražen Budiša, Vladimir Magić, and Milan Pelc, eds., *Katalog izložbe slika u knjizi: Iluminirani kodeksi i ilustrirane knjige od XI. do XVI. stoljeća* (Exhibition catalogue of pictures and books: illuminated codices and illustrated books from the eleventh to the sixteenth century) (Zagreb: Nacionalna i Sveučilišna Biblioteka, 1987), 9 and Zdenka Munk, ed., *Minijatura u Jugoslaviji* (Miniature in Yugoslavia) (Zagreb: Muzej za Umjetnost i Obrt, 1964), 289-90.

¹⁴⁶ Tünde Wehli, "A zágrábi püspökség Szent László-kori kódexei" (The codices of the Zagreb bishopric from the time of St. Ladislás), in *Szent László és Somogyvár: Tanulmányok a 900 éves somogyvári bencés apátság emlékezetére* (St. Ladislás and Somogyvár: studies in the memory of the nine hundred years old Benedictine abbey of Somogyvár), ed. Kálmán Magyar (Kaposvár: Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1992), 96.

*MCCCXLII In vigilia beate Agathe media nocte audita sunt tonitrua et fulgur incedit campanile hic in Toplica).*¹⁴⁷

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Bishop Augustine Gazotto of Zagreb (1303-1322), a man of Dalmatian origin who had been studying theology at the university of Paris and later became bishop of Nozeroy in France, delivered a sermon in a diocesan synod.¹⁴⁸ While speaking, he quoted some patristic theologians: *Tertulianus Doctor antiquissimus & doctissimus, levissimo vento invidiae Romani cleri afflatus... Arius Sacerdos Alexandrinae Ecclesiae, vanitatis vento agitatus... maximus Doctorum noster Hieronymus... Romanus Pontifex Gregorius...* Thus, the references of Bishop Augustine prove, if not the direct presence, at least the second- or third-hand knowledge of Tertullianus, the heretic Arius, and the works of St. Jerome and St. Gregory the Great in Zagreb in the early fourteenth century.¹⁴⁹ In 1348, the charter of Bishop James of Zagreb commanded the canons of the cathedral chapter to spend their money *pro reformatione librorum*, perhaps for the refreshment or updating of their library, or, more likely, to repair or renew the liturgical books of the church.¹⁵⁰

The first complete book list of the library survives in the general inventory of the Zagreb cathedral, containing the *thesaurum ecclesie, res et bona*, compiled in the year 1394.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Dragutin Kniewald, *Zagrebački liturgijski kodeksi XI.-XV. stoljeća* (Liturgical codices in Zagreb from the eleventh-fifteenth centuries) (Zagreb: Tisak Narodne Tiskare, 1940), 124-5. For the Cistercians at Toplica, see Ferenc L. Hervay, *Repertorium historicum ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria* (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1984), 181-91.

¹⁴⁸ Asztrik Gábel, "Magyar diákok és tanárok a középkori Párizsban" (Hungarian students and masters in medieval Paris), *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 62.4-9 (1938): 191.

¹⁴⁹ The text of the sermon is edited by Balthasar Adam Kerceslich, *Historia cathedralis ecclesiae Zagrabensis*, vol. 1.1 (Zagreb: Anton Jander, n.d.), 106-11 and Maksimilijan Vrhovac, ed., *Constitutiones synodales ecclesiae Zagrabensis pro clero diocesano recusae* (Zagreb: Novoszelian, 1805), 113-22.

¹⁵⁰ Ivan Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, *Diplomata: 1093-1399* (Zagreb: Karl Albrecht, 1889), 195: "Volumus autem, ut custos utriusque ecclesiarum predictarum soluciones ex premissis, nostre camere debitas, nostro nomine debeat ad se recipere, dispensando pecuniam ex hiis solutam pro reformatione librorum vel aliorum utensilium ipsarum ecclesiarum iuxta formam nostri mandati."

As for the number of the items, the book division (*Incipit ordo seu numerus librorum*) constitutes more than one third of the entire register. The system of enumerating the books follows a strict rule. For instance, the description of Gratian's *Decretum* runs like this: *Item alius liber decretorum ad modum antiquum cum tabulis et modico coreo nigro, qui finit in textu primi folij: "et in eos solus constitit."*¹⁵²

In order to identify the individual books, the catalogue gives the last few words of the first *folio*, probably the *verso*. This system was different from the general custom that usually gave the *incipit* of a codex. In a complex library, the *incipit* could help to find and identify a text, but it was not sufficient to identify the books themselves.¹⁵³ The 1394 catalogue kept consistently the more sophisticated rule. It became even more important in the case of the identification of various manuscripts containing the text of the Bible (*Item liber exodi copertus coreo albo et finit in textu primi folij: "multiplicati sunt"*) or popular medieval texts like the encyclopedic work of St. Isidore of Seville (*Item liber Isidori etimologiarum, copertus coreo albo, et finit in textu primi folij: "unam ad patrem et unam."*)¹⁵⁴ With very few exceptions, the quality of the codex is determined by the description of the binding and, in some cases, the distinction between parchment and paper. A hardly identifiable book, for example, is described like this: *Item quidam alius libellus in papiro copertus coreo croceo aliquam corroso, qui finit in primo folio: "quod pro..."*¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ The text of the 1394 inventory is edited by Dragutin Kniewald, "Najstariji inventari zagrebačke katedrale" (The oldest inventories of the Zagreb cathedral), *Starine* 43 (1951): 49-81.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁵³ On the artificial finding devices, see Richard Hunter Rouse and Mary Ames Rouse, "Statim invenire: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable, and Carol D. Lanham (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 201-25.

¹⁵⁴ Dragutin Kniewald, "Najstariji inventari zagrebačke katedrale" (The oldest inventories of the Zagreb cathedral), *Starine* 43 (1951): 67 and 68.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 70.

The benefactor of the library and the donor of a book were rarely indicated. However, there was a *missale* in the group of the liturgical books which had been given to the library by an archdeacon, John (*per condam dominum Johannem archidiaconum de Bexin legatus.*)¹⁵⁶ Finally, according to one of the last entries, another of the liturgical books ends *cum rubrica de sancto rege.*¹⁵⁷ Although the book cannot be identified on the base of its modest description (*quidam liber... sine coreo, continens in primo...*), it is probable that this *rubrica* about a *sanctus rex* illustrates the medieval cult of King St. Stephen of Hungary, patron saint of the Zagreb cathedral.¹⁵⁸

In 1397, three years after the compilation of the inventory, Zagreb cathedral suffered a great loss. The citizens of Gradec, old enemies of the bishops of Zagreb, attacked the estates of the canons of the cathedral chapter and pillaged all the goods they could find there, including their precious books. Consequently, Bishop John of Zagreb excommunicated the perpetrators. In his charter, he recounted the lost books *magni valoris* of the cathedral library. Although he did not name the books properly, his 1397 charter retained the various types of books which had been taken from the cathedral library. Concerning these books, some words of the charter should be quoted here: *libros eciam ecclesiasticos diversos, qui apud ipsos fratres nostros pretextu studii fuissent.* The various texts must have been part of the curriculum in the chapter school (*studium*), therefore the attack affected the school of the Zagreb cathedral library, too.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 71.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 72.

¹⁵⁸ On the liturgical codices illustrating the cult of King St. Stephen of Hungary in medieval Zagreb, see Polikárp Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 21-3.

¹⁵⁹ Ivan Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagraviae metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, *Diplomata: 1093-1399* (Zagreb: Karl Albrecht, 1889), 379: "libros eciam ecclesiasticos diversos, qui apud ipsos fratres nostros pretextu studii fuissent et libros tam missalium, quam breviorum et aliorum magni valoris in predam et rapinam committentes rapuerunt et secum asportaverunt in usus sacrilegos ipsorum convertendo in sue salutis dispendium non modicum et iacturam."

In the year 1426, another book list was compiled, more or less based on the 1394 inventory. This catalogue was incorporated again in a general inventory of the cathedral. According to certain calculations made partly on the basis of this book list, the early fifteenth-century cathedral library of Zagreb possessed more than two hundred books in all.¹⁶⁰ It is worth having a look at the different subdivisions of the 1426 book list: *Sequitur inventarium de libris officiorum sev ad officium divinum deputatis... Secuntur Missalia... Secuntur Capitularia... Secuntur psalteria... Secuntur breviaria... Racionalia... Legende nove... Pontificale... Benedictionalia... Biblie libri... Liber Archidiaconus dictus... Textus sententiarum... Sequitur inventarium librorum iuris canonici... Secuntur libri Sermonicales... Secuntur libri medicinales... Secuntur libri artium et etiam aliqui medicinales...*¹⁶¹ These headings cover a much more wider range of topics than the catalogue compiled a bit more than thirty years earlier.¹⁶²

Well before the beginning of the book list itself, two codices appear in the general inventory of the treasures. After the very first entry, a precious golden cross (*una parva crux de auro, in qua est lignum crucis*), one can read: *Item, liber ewangeliorum, manu sancti Luce ewangeliste, ut asseritur, scriptus, puro argento copertus, figuras crucifixi et beate Marie virginis, continens.*¹⁶³ The seventh item in the whole inventory is *unum benedictionale, ex una parte argento coopertum, figura sancti regis Stephani sibi impressa, inter reliquias*

¹⁶⁰ Pál Gulyás, "A könyv sorsa Magyarországon a legrégibb időktől napjainkig, 1." (A history of books in Hungary from the earliest times to the present, 1.), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 30.1-2 (1923): 44.

¹⁶¹ The various subdivisions of the library catalogue is treated separately by László Fejérpataky, "A zágrábi káptalani könyvtár XV. századi könyvlajstroma" (The book register of the Zagreb chapter library in the fifteenth century), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 5.5-6 (1880): 363-8. This inventory of the Zagreb cathedral library is also dealt with by Remig Békefi, *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the chapter schools in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910), 336-7.

¹⁶² The text of the 1426 inventory is also edited by Ivan Tkalčić, "Dva inventara prvostolne crkve zagrebačke iz XIV. i XV. vieka" (Two inventories of the Zagreb cathedral from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), *Starine* 13 (1881): 119-49. The edition of Tkalčić is far better than that of Fejérpataky, therefore it will be quoted henceforth.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 120.

deputatum.¹⁶⁴ The example of these two valuable codices demonstrates that books were often counted as treasures because of their material qualities, in this case their silver bindings. The *benedictionale* got its place among the relics of the treasury.

As far as the actual book list is concerned, the compiler of the 1426 catalogue also applied a precise system to identify the individual books. This system seems to have been compulsory in the case of the five *antiphonaria* of the church, because the similarity of their texts could have easily led to the confusion of the books. In order to avoid such a confusion, the compiler precisely defined the beginnings and the endings of the first leaves, sometimes the endings of the second leaves, as well as the very endings of the codices. For instance: *Primo, liber antiphonarius novus, incipit in primo folio in thono "beatus vir," et in fine eiusdem folii "laudabo," et in ultimo folio libri sunt "deo gracias. Alleluja."*¹⁶⁵ The compiler sometimes complained about the condition of the books. This happened in the case of a *liber sermocinale dictus*, which was *in marginibus incisus et mirabiliter destructus*.¹⁶⁶ The subdivision of the *Benedictionalia* contains two entries. The second one refers back to the precious codex with the silver binding that had been put among the relics: *Item, unum aliud benedictionale repositum est inter reliquias...*¹⁶⁷

One of the benefactors of the library had been Bishop John of Zagreb (1387-1394). One of the two copies of the *Summa confessorum* of Raymond of Penafort got into the library through his will: *Item, alia summa confessorum, legata quondam per dominum episcopum Johannem ecclesie zagrabiensi...*¹⁶⁸ A unique piece in the library was a codex containing a

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 128.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 129.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 136.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 143.

version of the *Navigatio sancti Brandani*.¹⁶⁹ However, the most significant part of the 1426 catalogue is its subdivision of the *libri medicinales*. According to the list, the Zagreb cathedral library possessed the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and the medical works of Galen as well as the *Antidotarium* of Nicholas of Salerno and the *Chirurgia* of Roger of Salerno, both from the twelfth century. Furthermore, apart from anonymous and falsely attributed medical works, the library had a copy of *quidam liber* of John of St. Amand, professor of medicine at the university of Paris around 1300.¹⁷⁰ Finally, apart from King St. Stephen, the catalogue refers to two other saints of the Hungarian Árpád dynasty, namely, Prince Emericus and King Ladislás. Their names appear in the descriptions of two *gradualia*: *habens in fine libri sequentiam de sancto Emerico duce* and *in fine libri habet aliquas sequentias additas de diebus dominicis, de sancto Ladislao, et de nativitate beate virginis*.¹⁷¹

In 1433, seven years after the compilation of the previous inventory, Bishop John of Zagreb, namesake of the late fourteenth-century bishop, made his last will. In this, he bequeathed his books to the Zagreb cathedral (*Libros... Ecclesiae Zagrabiensi*). Although there are no exact data about these *libri*, it is probable that Bishop John endowed his cathedral library mainly with his own liturgical books.¹⁷²

One more interesting manuscript should be taken into consideration, although its provenance is rather unclear. It is supposed to have been an item from the private library of the

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 146.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 146-9.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 129. On the liturgical codices illustrating the cult of St. Emericus and St. Ladislás in medieval Zagreb, see Polikárp Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 23-6. Furthermore, see József Török, "Szent László liturgikus tisztelete" (The liturgical veneration of St. Ladislás), in *Athleta patriae: Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez* (Athleta patriae: studies on the history of St. Ladislás), ed. László Mezey (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980), 135-60.

¹⁷² See Balthasar Adam Kercselich, *Historia cathedralis ecclesiae Zagrabiensis*, vol. 1.1 (Zagreb: Anton Jander, n.d.), 165: "Libros, Casulas, Vestes Pontificales Ecclesiae Zagrabiensi. Breviarium vero Ecclesiae Dombrensi, ut ejus Rectores pro ipso orient..." The text of the will of Bishop John is also edited by Ivan Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 2, *Diplomata: 1400-1499* (Zagreb: Karl Albrecht, 1894), 72-4.

late fifteenth-century humanist archbishop of Esztergom, János Vitéz, which made its way to the Zagreb cathedral library.¹⁷³ On the inner side of the back cover of this codex there are three inscriptions referring to three different works which had been borrowed from a certain library: the *Epistolae* of St. Jerome, a work entitled *Synonyma soliloquiorum* and attributed to St. Isidore of Seville, and another unknown work of Albert the Great. Probably, this codex can also be added to the list of the manuscripts possessed by the medieval cathedral library of Zagreb.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ For the private library of János Vitéz, see Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984).

¹⁷⁴ Vilmos Fraknói, "Egy érdekes zágrábi kézirat" (An interesting manuscript in Zagreb), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 6.1 (1881): 30: "Albertus Magnus apud me... Epistole Hieronymi apud me... Sinonima beati Isidorii Soliloquiorum..."

Statistical Analysis

Although the exact identification of the works included in the catalogues, thus the reconstruction of the medieval Hungarian cathedral libraries of Veszprém and Zagreb, is not complete, it is already possible to make extensive use of its results to analyze the holdings of these libraries from a statistical point of view.¹⁷⁵ However, this analysis raises various practical problems. First, in order to have a general framework for the inquiry, a classification of antique and medieval texts has to be set up. The present classification consists of the following divisions: books of the Bible, liturgical books, sermons, patristic and scholastic authors, anonymous, that is, hitherto not identified, biblical commentaries and theological works, books on the seven liberal arts, medicine, history, Roman law, canon law, and finally, miscellaneous

¹⁷⁵ The following research tools have been used for identifying the items in the library catalogues: Asztrik Gábor, "A középkori kéziratok identifikációja és lokalizációja: Liturgikus és egyetemi kódexek" (Identification and localization of medieval manuscripts: liturgical and university codices), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 61.4 (1937): 298-312; Emma Bartoniek, *Codices manu scripti Latini*, vol. 1, *Codices Latini medii aevi* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1940); George Lacombe, *Aristoteles Latinus*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955); Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, eds., *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vols. 1-10 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 1957-1965); Eligius Dekkers and Aemilius Gaar, *Clavis patrum Latinorum* (Steenbrugge: Abbatia Sancti Petri, 1961); Gerhard Podhradsky, *Lexikon der Liturgie: Ein Überblick für die Praxis* (Innsbruck, Vienna, and Munich: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1962); B. Hauréau, *Initia operum scriptorum Latinorum medii potissimum aevi ex codicibus manuscriptis et libris impressis*, vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1973); Helmut Leitner, *Bibliography to the Ancient Medical Authors* (Bern, Stuttgart, and Vienna: Hans Huber Publishers, 1973); Polikárp Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973); Eva Irblich, "Medizin," in *Wissenschaft im Mittelalter: Ausstellung von Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, ed. Otto Mazal, Eva Irblich, and István Németh (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1975), 265-89; Morton W. Bloomfield, Bertrand-Georges Guyot, Donald R. Howard, and Thyra B. Kabealo, *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100-1500 A. D. Including a Section of Incipits of Works on the Pater Noster* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1979); Rodrigue LaRue, Gilles Vincent, and Bruno St-Onge, *Clavis scriptorum Graecorum et Latinorum*, vol. 1 (Québec: Université du Québec a Trois-Rivières Service de la Bibliothèque, 1985); the inventories of Csaba Csapodi and Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt* (Bibliotheca Hungarica: codices and printed books in Hungary before 1526), vols. 1-3 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1988-1994) and *Ariadne: A középkori magyarországi irodalom kézíratainak lelőhelykatalógusa* (Ariadne: inventory of the manuscripts of medieval Hungarian literature) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1995); and Richard Sharpe, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues: List of Identification* (London: British Medieval Library Catalogues Committee, 1995). A great part of the items in the 1435 Veszprém catalogue has already been identified by László Mezey, "A kéziratosság századai" (The centuries of the manuscripts), in *A könyv és könyvtár a magyar társadalom életében az államalapítástól 1849-ig* (Book and library in the life of Hungarian society from the foundation of the state until 1849), ed. Máté Kovács (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1963), 88-92. However, some of his identifications has to be modified on the basis of the research tools enlisted above.

and unidentified codices (for instance, ones that are enlisted only as *quidam liber, alius libellus, uno volumine*). Although this classification is designed especially for the particular catalogues examined, it has its weak points too. Some of its divisions overlap, which means that certain items can be inserted into two or even three of them at the same time. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to indicate one item in two or three different places. One of the divisions is entitled "Scholastics." This term should not be understood here only as an attribute of a certain well-defined group of medieval *scholares*. It simply refers to the authors writing in a period which has often been called "scholastic," without any critique. For practical reasons, however, this sort of generalization can not be avoided here.¹⁷⁶ Since this analysis basically follows the criteria of the codices, instead of those of the texts, a separate division has to be established for the miscellaneous codices that contain texts of various literary genres. In spite of the different types of text contained, of course, a given codex counts as one book here. This statistical analysis contains all the items enlisted in the catalogues, even the ones that had been borrowed from the library or destroyed. Thus, it is probable that all the entries of our analysis could not have been found in the cathedral libraries at the same moment. Finally, for the sake of comparison, apart from the catalogues of the cathedral libraries of Veszprém and Zagreb, this statistical analysis deals with the 1425 inventory of the library of the collegiate chapter of St. Martin in Pozsony as well.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ For the problems of distinction between patristics and scholastics in the context of their reception in medieval Hungary, see László Mezey, "A teológia (patrisztika) és a skolasztika jelentkezése az Árpád-kori Magyarországon" (The reception of theology (patristics) and scholastics in Hungary in the Árpád age), in *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Cultural studies on medieval Hungary), ed. György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 213-25.

¹⁷⁷ The inventory is published by Arnold Ipolyi, "A pozsonyi káptalan XIV. századi könyvtára" (The library of the Pozsony chapter in the fourteenth century), *Új Magyar Múzeum* 6.3 (1856): 162-71. The library in its modern state has been described by Nándor Knauz, *Codices manuscripti capituli Posoniensis* (Esztergom: Horák Egyed, 1870). Pozsony is capital of present-day Slovakia, called Bratislava today. However, it is appropriate to call it Pozsony in Hungarian here, because it was called *Posonium* in the Middle Ages. See Graesse, Benedict, and Plechl, *Orbis Latinus: Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, vol. 3 (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1972), 196.

Veszprém 1435

Bible

<i>Biblia</i>	5
<i>Liber Esdre prophetae</i>	1
Subtotal	6

Liturgy

<i>Antiphonale</i>	4
<i>Benedictionale</i>	6
<i>Breviarium</i>	3
<i>Cantuale</i>	3
<i>Collectarium</i>	4
<i>Epistolarium</i>	2
<i>Evangeliarium</i>	2
<i>Graduale</i>	6
<i>Legenda</i>	1
<i>Manuale</i>	6
<i>Matutinale</i>	4
<i>Missale</i>	19
<i>Orationale</i>	1
<i>Passionale</i>	2
<i>Pontificale</i>	4

<i>Psalterium</i>	7
<u>William Durand, <i>Rationale divinorum officiorum</i></u>	1
Subtotal	75
Patristics	
St. Ambrose	1
St. Jerome, <i>Expositio super Ecclesiastes</i>	1
St. Jerome, <i>Praefatio super Isaiam prophetam</i>	1
St. Jerome, <i>Super Hieremiam prophetam</i>	1
St. Jerome, <i>Expositio super Aggeum, Zachariam et alios prophetas minores</i>	1
St. Jerome and others, <i>Epistolae</i>	1
Damasus, <i>Epistolae</i> ; St. Jerome, <i>Super tribus quaestionibus libri Genesis</i> ; and others	1
Pseudo-Jerome, <i>De septem gradibus</i>	1
St. Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>	3
St. Gregory the Great, <i>Homiliae super evangelia</i>	1
St. Gregory the Great, <i>Expositio super Lucam</i>	1
St. Gregory the Great, <i>Dialogi</i>	1
St. Isidore of Seville, <i>Etymologiae</i>	2
St. Isidore of Seville, <i>De ecclesiasticis officiis</i>	1
Pseudo-Isidore of Seville, <i>Orationales</i>	1
Defensor of Ligugé, <i>Liber scintillarum</i>	1
Bede the Venerable, <i>Prologus sive commentum</i>	1
Paul the Deacon, <i>Homiliarium</i>	1
Remigius of Auxerre, <i>Commentum super psalterio</i>	1

Remigius of Auxerre, <i>Expositio super epistolas Pauli</i>	1
<u>Paterius, <i>Liber testimoniorum veteris testamenti</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	24

Scholastics

Ivo of Chartres, <i>Sermones</i> and other works	1
Peter Comestor, <i>Historia scholastica</i>	1
St. Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa theologiae</i>	1
<u>Nicholas of Gorran, <i>Lectura super prologis Bibliae</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	4

Anonymous Biblical Commentaries and Theological Works

<i>Expositio super Bibliam secundum sensum moralem et mysticum</i>	1
<i>Commentum super Psalterium</i>	1
<i>Expositiones aliquorum evangeliorum</i>	1
<i>Expositio super Matthaeum</i>	1
<u><i>Expositio evangelii super Lucam</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	5

Arts

Aristotle and others, <i>Physica</i>	1
Aristotle, <i>Rhetorica</i>	1

Cicero, <i>De oratore</i>	1
Boëthius, <i>Liber divisionum</i>	1
Bartholomaeus Anglicus, <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i>	1
<u><i>De disciplina astronomiae</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	6
History	
Iosephus Flavius, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i>	1
<u>Geoffrey of Viterbo, <i>Pantheon</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	2
Canon Law	
Gratian, <i>Decretum</i>	1
Huguccio of Pisa	1
Johannes Teutonicus, <i>Summa super decretum</i>	1
Gregory IX, <i>Decretales</i>	5
Innocent IV, <i>Apparatus in V libros decretalium</i>	1
Commentary on Gregory IX, <i>Decretales</i>	1
Henry of Segusia, <i>Summa super titulis decretalium</i>	1
Geoffrey of Trani, <i>Summa super rubricis decretalium</i>	1
William Durand, <i>Speculum iudiciale</i>	1
Boniface VIII, <i>Liber sextus</i>	3
Clement V, <i>Clementina</i>	2

<i>Libri in iure canonico</i>	9
<i>Libri de potestate et primatu apostolice sedis</i>	2
Subtotal	29
Unidentified	1
Subtotal	1
Total	152

Zagreb 1394

Bible

<i>Biblia</i>	5
<i>Liber Genesis</i>	1
<i>Liber Exodi</i>	1
<i>Liber Paralipomenon et Iudicum et Esther et Machabeorum</i>	1
<i>Liber Salomonis</i>	1
<i>Liber Ecclesiastes</i>	1
<i>Liber Apocalypsis</i>	1
Subtotal	11

Liturgy

<i>Antiphonale</i>	3
<i>Capitulare</i>	1

<i>Consecrationes</i>	1
<i>Epistolarium</i>	2
<i>Evangeliarium</i>	1
<i>Graduale</i>	4
<i>Liber de passionibus sanctorum</i>	1
<i>Manuale</i>	4
<i>Missale</i>	5
<i>Pastorale</i>	1
<i>Psalterium</i>	8
<u>William Durand, <i>Rationale divinorum officiorum</i></u>	<u>2</u>
Subtotal	33

Sermons

<u><i>Sermones</i></u>	<u>5</u>
Subtotal	5

Patristics

St. Augustine	1
St. Augustine, <i>Enchiridion</i>	1
St. Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>	2
St. Gregory the Great, <i>Dialogi</i> and <i>Regula pastoralis</i>	1
St. Isidore of Seville, <i>Etymologiae</i>	1
<u>St. Isidore of Seville, <i>Sententiae</i></u>	<u>2</u>
Subtotal	8

Scholastics

Peter Lombard, <i>Liber sententiarum</i>	4
<i>Libellus super libro sententiarum</i>	2
<i>Quaestiones super sententias</i>	1
<i>Liber consecutionum super libro sententiarum</i>	1
Peter Comestor, <i>Historia scholastica</i>	2
Peter of Rouen, <i>Sermones</i>	1
Subtotal	11

Anonymous Biblical Commentaries and Theological Works

<i>Super expositione Bibliae</i>	1
<i>Concordiae novi et veteris testamenti</i>	1
<i>Flores distinctionum novi et veteris testamenti</i>	1
<i>Liber super Exodi</i>	1
<i>Liber novae legis</i>	1
<i>Quaestiones theologicae</i>	1
<i>Declarationes verborum difficiliorum in theologia</i>	1
<i>Abecedamus alio vero nomine Lucianus</i>	1
<i>De laudibus beatae virginis</i>	1
Subtotal	9

Arts

<i>Liber stellarum</i>	1
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Subtotal	1
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History

<i>Historiae</i>	2
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<i>Historia Romana</i>	1
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Subtotal	3
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Roman Law

Iustinian, <i>Institutiones</i>	1
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<i>Liber in iure civili</i>	2
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Subtotal	3
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Canon Law

Gratian, <i>Decretum</i>	2
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Gregory IX, <i>Decretales</i>	4
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Johannes Andreae, <i>Novella in decretales Gregorii IX</i>	1
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Geoffrey of Trani, <i>Summa super rubricis decretalium</i>	1
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Commentary on Gregory IX, <i>Liber extra</i>	1
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Raymond of Penafort, <i>Summa poenitentie</i>	3
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Boniface VIII, <i>Liber sextus</i>	2
Boniface VIII, <i>Liber sextus</i> and Clement V, <i>Clementina</i>	1
Clement V, <i>Clementina</i>	3
John of Freiburg, <i>Summa confessorum</i>	1
<i>Summula in iure canonico</i>	1
<i>Quaternus parvus in iure canonico</i>	1
Subtotal	22
Unidentified	5
Subtotal	5
Total	111

Zagreb 1426

Bible

<i>Biblia</i>	7
<i>Genesis</i>	1
<i>Paralipomenon</i>	1
<i>Parabole Salamonis</i>	1
<i>Ecclesiastes</i>	1
<i>Evangelium Lucae</i>	2
<i>Apocalypsis</i>	1
Subtotal	14

Liturgy

<i>Antiphonale</i>	5
<i>Benedictionale</i>	2
<i>Breviarium</i>	9
<i>Cantuale</i> and <i>Lectionale</i>	1
<i>Capitulare</i>	3
<i>Collectarium</i>	2
<i>Evangeliarium</i> and <i>Epistolarium</i>	2
<i>Evangeliarium</i> and <i>Passionale</i>	1
<i>Graduale</i>	7
<i>Lectionale</i>	5
<i>Legenda</i>	3
<i>Libellus pastoralis de cura et officio archidiaconi</i>	1
<i>Manuale</i>	1
<i>Missale</i>	23
<i>Passionale</i>	1
<i>Pontificale</i>	3
<i>Psalterium</i>	10
John Belet, <i>Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis</i>	1
<u>William Durand, <i>Rationale divinorum officiorum</i></u>	<u>2</u>
Subtotal	82

Sermons

Richard of Mediavilla, <i>Sermones de festis</i>	1
Peter of Rouen, <i>Sermo</i> and other <i>Sermones</i>	1
<i>Sermocinale</i>	5
<i>Sermones de festis</i>	1
<u><i>Liber alphabeti in arte sermocinandi</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	9

Patristics

<i>Expositiones vocabulorum per alphabetum</i> and St. Jerome, <i>Prologi in omnes libros divinae historiae et totius Bibliae</i>	1
St. Augustine, <i>Enchiridion</i> and other works; <i>Liber prenoticorum</i> ; Paschasius Radbertus, <i>Tractatus</i> ; St. Augustine?, <i>Tractatus de summo bono</i> ; and John Chrysostom or Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Homiliae</i>	1
St. Cyrill of Alexandria?, <i>Epistola de morte Hieronymi et Augustini</i> ; St. Anselm of Canterbury, <i>Meditationes</i> , and Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermo de imagine Christi</i>	1
St. Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>	3
St. Gregory the Great, <i>Homiliae</i>	1
St. Gregory the Great, <i>Dialogi</i> and <i>Regula pastoralis</i>	1
St. Isidore of Seville, <i>Etymologiae</i>	1
St. Isidore of Seville, <i>Sententiae</i>	1
St. Isidore of Seville, <i>Sententiae</i> and Paul the Deacon, <i>Vita beati Gregorii</i>	1

<u>Defensor of Ligugé, <i>Liber scintillarum</i></u>	1
Subtotal	12
Scholastics	
Hugh of St. Victor, <i>De sacramentis</i> and other works	1
St. Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Flores</i>	1
Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, <i>Concordia evangeliorum</i>	1
Peter Comestor, <i>Historia scholastica</i>	4
Peter Cantor, <i>Verbum abbreviatum</i>	1
St. Bonaventure, <i>Super primo sententiarum</i>	1
<i>Quaestiones summarum</i> ; St. Thomas Aquinas, <i>Tractatus contra errores Graecorum</i> ; and St.	
Jerome, <i>De viris illustribus</i>	1
<i>Quaestiones super libris summarum secundum fratrem Thomam de Aquino</i>	1
Hugh Ripelin of Strassburg, <i>Compendium theologiae veritatis</i>	1
Nicholas of Gorran, <i>Glossa super libro ecclesiastici</i>	1
Aegidius Romanus, <i>Tractatus de corpore Christi</i>	1
<u>Nicholas of Lyra, <i>Postilla super psalterio</i></u>	1
Subtotal	15
Anonymous Biblical Commentaries and Theological Works	
<i>Flores distinctionum novi et veteris testamenti</i>	1
<i>Glossae super psalterio</i>	1
<i>Glossa super libro Apocalypsis</i> and <i>Infantia salvatoris</i>	1

<i>De fine mundi</i>	1
<i>Summa de vitiis et virtutibus</i>	1
<i>De declaratione difficilium verborum et distinctionum in theologia</i>	1
<i>De trinitate et tribus rebus</i>	1
<i>De laudibus beatae virginis</i>	1
<u><i>Compendium pauperis</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	9

Arts

Aristotle, <i>De anima</i> and St. Thomas Aquinas, <i>Lectura</i>	1
Aristotle, <i>Ethica</i> and St. Thomas Aquinas, <i>Super X libros ethicorum</i>	1
Aristotle, <i>Logica vetus</i>	1
Aristotle, <i>Logica nova</i> and <i>Logica vetus</i>	1
Commentary on Aristotle, <i>Logica vetus</i>	1
Aristotle, <i>De animalibus</i>	1
Commentary on Aristotle, <i>De animalibus</i> and <i>Quaestiones naturalis physicae</i>	1
<i>Quaestiones quarti summarum</i> and <i>Quaestiones in naturali physica</i>	1
<i>Quaestiones in naturali physica</i>	1
<i>Quaestiones super naturalia</i>	1
<u><i>Astrologia</i> and <i>Astronomia</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	11

Medicine

Hippocrates, <i>Aphorismi</i> and commentary on Galen, <i>Liber Thegni</i>	1
<i>Corpus Hippocraticum</i>	1
Galen, <i>Liber Thegni</i>	1
Pseudo-Galen, <i>De ingenio sanitatis</i>	1
Serapion	1
John of Damascus, <i>De regimine sanitatis</i>	1
John of Damascus and another author, <i>Viaticus</i>	1
Rashi	1
Ali Abbas, <i>Liber oculorum</i> and Roger of Salerno, <i>Chirurgia</i>	1
Isaac Iudaeus, <i>Liber diffinitionum</i> and other medical works	1
Isaac Iudaeus	1
Moyses and Avicenna, <i>De medicinis cordialibus</i>	1
Avicenna, <i>De regimine sanitatis</i>	1
Avicenna	3
Nicholas of Salerno, <i>Antidotarium</i>	2
Roger of Salerno, <i>Chirurgia</i>	1
John of St. Amand	1
<i>Ars medicinae</i>	1
<i>Liber in medicinis</i>	6
<i>Tractatus de medicinis</i>	1
<i>De simplicibus medicinis</i>	1
<i>De naturis ciborum</i>	1
<i>Liber dietarum universalium</i>	1

<u>Medical work</u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	32

History

<u><i>Historia Troianorum, Romanorum et Caesarum</i></u>	<u>1</u>
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Subtotal	1
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Roman Law

Iustinian, <i>Codex</i>	1
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Iustinian, <i>Institutiones</i>	2
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<i>De legibus Romanorum</i>	1
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<u><i>Certi libri in iure civili</i></u>	<u>1</u>
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Subtotal	5
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Canon Law

Gratian, <i>Decretum</i>	4
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Innocent III, <i>Decretales</i>	1
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Gregory IX, <i>Decretales</i>	2
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Gregory IX, <i>Decretales</i> and Innocent IV, <i>Extravagantes</i>	1
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Gregory IX, <i>Decretales</i> and Nicholas IV, <i>Constitutio</i>	1
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Gregory IX, <i>Decretales</i> and Bartholomew of Brescia, <i>Quaestiones dominicales</i>	1
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Geoffrey of Trani, <i>Summa super rubricis decretalium</i>	1
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Geoffrey of Trani, <i>Summa super rubricis decretalium</i> and Bernard of Compostela,	
<i>Quaestiones decretales</i>	1
<i>Summa super secunda parte decretalium</i>	1
<i>Repertorium super decretalibus</i>	1
<i>Super usibus feudorum</i> and Nicholas IV, <i>Constitutio</i>	1
Raymond of Penafort, <i>Summa confessorum</i>	2
Raymond of Penafort, <i>Summa poenitentiae</i>	1
Raymond of Penafort, <i>Summae</i>	6
Frater Jacobus, <i>Lectura super summas</i>	1
<i>Glossa super summa Raimundi</i>	1
Boniface VIII, <i>Liber sextus</i>	2
Clement V, <i>Clementina</i>	2
<i>Summa de iure canonico</i>	1
<i>Summula in iure canonico</i>	1
<i>Speculum ecclesiae</i> and <i>Rubrica de sepultura mortuorum</i>	1
Subtotal	33
Miscellaneous	
<i>Lectionale</i> and John Chrysostom	1
Aristotle, <i>Libri naturales</i> and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Homelia</i>	1
<i>De cura pastoralis</i> and Bartholomew of Brescia, <i>Ordo iudiciarius</i>	1
<i>Navigatio sancti Brendani</i> and Elbukasen, <i>Regimen sanitatis</i>	1
Subtotal	4
Total	227

Pozsony 1425

Bible

<i>Biblia</i>	2
Subtotal	2

Liturgy

<i>Agenda ecclesiae</i>	1
<i>Antiphonarium</i>	2
<i>Breviarium</i>	9
<i>Capitularium</i>	2
<i>De rubrica Romana</i>	1
<i>De rubrica Strigoniensi</i>	1
<i>Graduale</i>	4
<i>Kreuzgang</i>	1
<i>Matutinale de tempore</i>	1
<i>Matutinale de sanctis</i>	1
<i>Missale</i>	14
<i>Passionale de sanctis</i>	2
<i>Psalterium</i>	4
Subtotal	43

Sermons

Conrad Holtzicker of Saxonia, <i>De tempore et sanctis</i>	1
James of Voragine, <i>Sermones de tempore</i>	1
James of Voragine, <i>Sermones per totam quadragesimam</i>	1
<i>Tripartitum de tempore et sanctis</i>	1
<i>Fons vitae de tempore per circulum anni et quadragesimale</i>	1
<u><i>Sermones</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	6

Patristics

St. Augustine, <i>Homiliae</i> and <i>Sermones</i>	1
<u>St. Gregory the Great, <i>Super Ezechielem</i> and <i>Homiliae</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	2

Scholastics

St. Bernard of Clairvaux?, <i>Soliloquia</i> ; St. Augustine, <i>Soliloquia</i> ; St. Anselm of Canterbury, <i>Monologion</i> ; <i>De conflictu virtutum et vitiorum</i> ; <i>Super epistolas Pauli ad Romanos</i> ; and St. Jerome, <i>Liber quaestionum Hebraicarum in Genesim</i>	1
Peter Lombard, <i>Liber sententiarum</i>	1
Peter Comestor, <i>Historia scholastica</i>	1
Alexander Neckam, <i>Expositiones terminorum Biblicae</i>	1
Mauritius Hibernicus, <i>Distinctiones biblicae</i>	1

Hugh Ripelin of Strassburg, *Compendium theologiae veritatis* and St. Thomas Aquinas?,

<i>Tractatus de corpore Christi</i>	1
St. Thomas Aquinas, <i>Questiones super libros sententiarum</i>	1
Thomas of Hibernia, <i>Manipulus florum</i>	1
Nicholas of Lyra, <i>Postilla super Psalterium</i>	1
<u>Henry of Oyta, <i>Lectura</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	10

Anonymous Biblical Commentaries and Theological Works

<i>Postillae super canones et libros ecclesiasticos</i>	1
<i>Exemplum sacrae scripturae</i>	1
<i>Interpretationes prophetarum</i>	1
<i>Super epistolas et evangelia</i>	1
<i>Expositio super Ave Maria</i>	1
<i>Summa vitiorum</i>	1
<u><i>Mammotrectus</i></u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	7

Arts

<u>Bartholomaeus Anglicus, <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i></u>	<u>1</u>
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Subtotal	1
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Canon Law

Gratian, <i>Decretum</i>	1
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Johannes Teutonicus, <i>Summa</i> on Gratian, <i>Decretum</i>	1
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Gregory IX, <i>Decretales</i>	3
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Boniface VIII, <i>Liber sextus</i>	2
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Bartholomew of Pisa, <i>Summa de casibus conscientiae</i>	1
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<i>Statuta provincialia archiepiscopi Pragensis, Auctoritates sanctorum patrum, and Sermones</i>	<u>1</u>
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Subtotal	9
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Miscellaneous

<u><i>Sermones; Libri Salomonis; and Meditationes</i></u>	<u>1</u>
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Subtotal	1
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<u>Unidentified</u>	<u>2</u>
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<u>Subtotal</u>	<u>2</u>
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Total	83
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Overall Survey

	Veszprém	Zagreb	Zagreb	Pozsony
	1435	1394	1426	1425
Bible	6=3.95%	11=9.90%	14=6.17%	2=2.41%
Liturgy	75=49.34%	33=29.73%	82=36.12%	43=51.81%
Sermons		5=4.50%	9=3.96%	6=7.23%
Patristics	24=15.79%	8=7.21%	12=5.29%	2=2.41%
Scholastics	4=2.63%	11=9.90%	15=6.61%	10=12.05%
Anonymous	5=3.29%	9=8.11%	9=3.96%	7=8.43%
Arts	6=3.95%	1=0.90%	11=4.85%	1=1.20%
Medicine			32=14.10%	
History	2=1.32%	3=2.70%	1=0.44%	
Roman Law		3=2.70%	5=2.20%	
Canon Law	29=19.08%	22=19.82%	33=14.54%	9=10.84%
Miscellaneous			4=1.76%	1=1.20%
<u>Unidentified</u>	<u>1=0.66%</u>	<u>5=4.50%</u>		<u>2=2.41%</u>
Total	152=100%	111=100%	227=100%	83=100%

Conclusion

The case of Esztergom has shown the limits of reconstructing a medieval Hungarian cathedral library. Being the powerful and wealthy center of the metropolitan see, Esztergom must have played the leading cultural role in medieval Hungary. However, the library of the cathedral was dispersed in the sixteenth century, like any other libraries in Hungary at that period. Unfortunately, there is no surviving library catalogue from medieval Esztergom. Consequently, one has to turn to sources like the wills of Muthmerius and Ladislas in the late thirteenth century. The 1277 will of Master Ladislas, canon of the Esztergom cathedral chapter, indicates that canons often bequeathed their books from their private libraries to their fellow canons in the same chapter. The protocol of the 1397 *canonica visitatio* provides its reader with evidence for the *lector* being in charge not only of the chapter school but also of the equipment of the cathedral library. If treated with strong critique, modern catalogues can also give some information about the medieval holdings. The investigation of the problematic provenance of wandering codices, such as the ones containing the texts of Rupert of Deutz and Peter Comestor, and especially the codex of Bernard of Perugia may contribute to the study of the book culture in medieval Esztergom. The same rule applies for the fragments of Ticonius and the Venerable Bede.¹⁷⁸ The attempt at reconstructing the library of the *Collegium Christi*, flourishing in the fifteenth century, illustrates the international cultural relations of the *Collegium* which can be detected in the book provision of the library as well. The most significant trace is the codex containing the text of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, professor of theology at the university of Vienna.

¹⁷⁸ For the problems of dealing with manuscript fragments in general, see Hans Butzmann, "Gedanken und Erfahrungen bei der Katalogisierung von Handschriftenfragmenten," in *Varia codicologica*, ed. J. P. Gumbert and M. J. M. De Haan, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: A. L. Van Gendt & Co, 1972), 87-98.

In the case of the Veszprém cathedral library, the majority of the problems of Esztergom disappears because there is a surviving library catalogue from the late Middle Ages. Of course, the holding described in the catalogue does not coincide with the earlier ones because the internal conflicts in the thirteenth century, apart from the Mongol invasion, seriously affected the collection of the library. The 1276 charter of King Ladislas IV the Cuman enumerates the losses of the Veszprém cathedral and compares its chapter school with the university of Paris. Although this comparison does not mean at all that there was a university or a *studium generale* in medieval Veszprém, the charter reflects the high reputation of the chapter school. Apart from enlisting the books themselves, the surviving 1435 catalogue of the Veszprém cathedral library contains additional information as well. The headings of the various divisions in the catalogue suggest that the majority of the books, mainly the ones in theology and canon law, was kept in the sacristy of the church. The catalogue sometimes indicates the donors of the books, generally canons and bishops who endowed the cathedral library with codices from their private libraries. The case of Bishop Mesko in the fourteenth century illustrates that books were not only presents but, under certain circumstances, pawns as well. Apart from the content and the material quality of the books, we are informed about their use and fate, too. In most of the cases the books were borrowed by canons, but sometimes they were lent to other churches. Of course, some of the books got lost. Nevertheless, the inventory recorded various data on them. Thus, it is possible to detect the way of a certain book to its last reader. However, the dividing line between losing and stealing a book could not be too easy to define.¹⁷⁹ Books were obviously counted as pieces of luxury. The loan records of the Veszprém cathedral library from the period between 1472 and 1504, which more or less coincide with the 1435 catalogue, show that the borrowers were mainly canons of the

¹⁷⁹ A charter issued by Charles Robert, king of Hungary, at Visegrád in 1327 records the stealing of the books of an Upper Hungarian church of St. John the Baptist in Liptószentmiklós: "in crepusculo noctis fures et latrones in ecclesia sancti Johannis baptiste in possessione ipsorum habita calicem, libros cum rebus et

Veszprém cathedral. However, Dominican friars also used the cathedral library. Although there were some theological works borrowed, the books in canon law were much more popular.¹⁸⁰

Similar to Esztergom, the Zagreb cathedral must have played a leading cultural role in the south-western territory of the Hungarian kingdom from the very end of the eleventh century. The overwhelming majority of its late eleventh-century and twelfth-century liturgical codices can be explained with the practical needs of a newly-established cathedral.¹⁸¹ Apart from proving the presence of the cult of the Hungarian dynastic saints in Zagreb, the two surviving catalogues of the cathedral library from the years 1394 and 1426 offer much more detailed information about the organization of the books than the inventory of Veszprém. Their most important common feature is the sophisticated, although by no means unique, system applied for identifying the individual books. The 1394 catalogue gives the last few words of the first leave of the codex: *finit in textu primi folij...* The 1426 catalogue gives the *incipit* and the ending of the first leave and the ending of the entire codex: *incipit in primo folio... et in fine eiusdem folii... et in ultimo folio libri...* Both catalogues describe the material quality of the books, that is, their bindings and raw material. If the leaves of a codex had been made of paper, instead of parchment, it was indicated separately. The compilers of the catalogues sometimes recorded the donors of the books: the main benefactors of the cathedral library were bishops and archdeacons. They obviously endowed the cathedral with their own books from their private libraries. The peculiarity of the 1426 book list is its division of medical

indumentis ecclesie iamdicte... subtrahendo deportassent." Quoted by Sándor Horváth, "Könyvlopás a XIV. században" (Book stealing in the fourteenth century), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 2.4 (1894): 380.

¹⁸⁰ For the different points of view on lending of books in Western Europe, see Lesley Smith, "Lending Books: The Growth of a Medieval Question from Langton to Bonaventure," in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (London and Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon Press, 1992), 265-79.

¹⁸¹ For the primary role of the liturgical codices in that period, see László Veszprémy, "A 12. századi magyar kódexírás alakulása" (The formation of Hungarian codex writing in the twelfth century), *Századok* 132.1 (1998): 222-30. One of the most beautifully illuminated codices in twelfth-century Hungary was the so-called Admont Bible. This codex also shows the influence of the Salzburg *scriptoria* in Hungary. See Tünde Wehli, *Az Admonti biblia* (Wien, ÖNB, Cod. s. n. 2701-2) (The Admont Bible: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. s. n. 2701-2) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977).

books which is extremely rich, in terms of medieval Hungarian standards. The problem is that there are no sources referring education in medicine in the chapter school of the Zagreb cathedral in the Middle Ages. Some of the canons probably studied at the faculties of medicine of Western European universities. After finishing their studies abroad, they could have carried their medical books that they had purchased there. This can be one of the causes why the Zagreb cathedral library had been suddenly increasing from one hundred and eleven to two hundred and twenty-seven items during such a short interval as thirty-two years.

Given the fact that only three catalogues of medieval Hungarian cathedral libraries survived, one from Veszprém and two from Zagreb, it is nearly impossible to establish significant regional differences. However, the catalogues of Veszprém and Zagreb can be complemented with the 1425 book list of the collegiate chapter of Pozsony.¹⁸² After the identification and classification of the items in the book lists and the statistical comparison of the four catalogues, it becomes possible to establish the orientation of a library. Instead of using absolute numbers or percentage here, the proportion between different type of books can express the preference of a library. The liturgical codices constituted the basis of the holdings of all the four libraries. For instance, half of the books of the Veszprém cathedral library contained various liturgical texts and chants.¹⁸³ The second most important preference was that of canon law. Books of Roman law could only be found in the Zagreb cathedral library but the number of these books constituted only a small fragment of the total amount of the legal books. Zagreb in 1394 and Veszprém in 1435 possessed more authors from the patristic than

¹⁸² The 1341 charter of Michael, provost of the Pozsony chapter, sheds some light on the system of learning in medieval Hungarian chapter schools. He appoints his former master, Nicholas, canon of Fehérvár, to canon of Pozsony: "magistri Nicolai, Albensis ecclesie canonici, informatoris nostri, seu magistri predilecti, quibus nobis inde a nostro studio et eruditione studiosa voluit et meruit digne complacere..." Quoted by Remig Békefi, *A népoktatás története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the public education in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1906), 219.

¹⁸³ In general, see Polikárp Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973) and Benjamin Rajeczky, ed., *Magyarország zenetörténete* (A history of music in Hungary), vol. 1, *Középkor* (The Middle Ages) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988).

from the scholastic period. The library catalogues of the Pozsony collegiate chapter in 1425 and the Zagreb cathedral library in 1426 prove the contrary: the amount of texts from the scholastic period outdid those of the patristic authors. Among the theological books, the popularity of the great authors is obvious. Although these catalogues cannot contribute to the study of the manuscript tradition of the theological authorities, the results of the studies on their *Überlieferung* explain their relative popularity in the book lists. The success of such authors like St. Augustine¹⁸⁴ (and the works attributed to him),¹⁸⁵ St. Isidore of Seville,¹⁸⁶ Hugh of St. Victor,¹⁸⁷ Peter Lombard¹⁸⁸ (and the commentaries on his *Liber sententiarum*, like those of St. Thomas Aquinas or St. Bonaventure),¹⁸⁹ and Peter Comestor¹⁹⁰ can be detected in medieval Hungary as well as in Central or Western Europe. False attributions¹⁹¹ and the often misleading titles¹⁹² (like *Flores* and *Florilegia*)¹⁹³ make theological books the most problematic

¹⁸⁴ For the *Fortleben* of St. Augustine in Central Europe, see Franz Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, vol. 3, *Polen* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973).

¹⁸⁵ For the works attributed to St. Augustine, see Eligius Dekkers, "Le succes étonnant des écrits pseudo-augustiniens au Moyen Age," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, vol. 5, *Fingierte Briefe - Frömmigkeit und Fälschung - Realienfälschungen* (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1988), 361-8.

¹⁸⁶ For the *Fortleben* of St. Isidore of Seville, see Bernhard Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla," in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1966), 171-94.

¹⁸⁷ For the *Fortleben* of Hugh of St. Victor, see Rudolf Goy, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Hugos von St. Viktor: Ein Beitrag zur Kommunikationsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1976). On the late medieval cathedral library of Prague in this context, see *ibid.*, 552.

¹⁸⁸ On Peter Lombard, see Joseph de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique du XIIe siècle* (Bruges: Éditions "de Tempel"; Brussels: L'Édition Universelle; and Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1948), 213-49. On the triumph of his *Liber sententiarum*, see *ibid.*, 250-77.

¹⁸⁹ For the huge amount of the medieval commentaries on the *Liber sententiarum*, see Fridericus Stegmüller, *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, vol. 1, *Textus* (Würzburg: Ferdinandus Schöningh Bibliopola, 1947). This volume contains 1407 entries.

¹⁹⁰ For Peter Comestor, see David Luscombe, "Peter Comestor," in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 109-29.

¹⁹¹ See Umberto Eco, "Tipologia della falsificazione," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, vol. 1, *Kongressdaten und Festvorträge - Literatur und Fälschung* (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1988), 69-82. On the use of authorities, Eco quotes Alan of Lille: "Auctoritas cereum habet nasum, id est in diversum potest flecti sensum." See *ibid.*, 77.

to identify. The superiority of the discipline of canon law above that of theology, the seven liberal arts, and the Aristotelian logic still resound the complaints of Pope Innocent IV against the clerics all around Europe who inclined to study canon law rather than philosophy and theology in the middle of the thirteenth century: *Crebris quippe relatis aures nostras abhorrenda fama circumstrepit, et inculcat assidue, quod relictis, quia immo procul et abiectis Philosophicis disciplinis (ut ad presens de divina scientia taceamus) tota Clericorum multitudo ad audiendas leges concurrat...*¹⁹⁴ As far as the sermons are concerned, they could be found in Pozsony in the biggest proportion. The number of books in history was not significant at all. Veszprém and Pozsony did not have a single of them. Apart from the books of Cicero and Iosephus Flavius in Veszprém, the libraries possessed no Latin classics at all. In terms of Western European standards, it is more than interesting.¹⁹⁵ All the more because the ancient classics were always taken into consideration as basic elements of learning Latin

¹⁹² For various medieval book titles, see the detailed study of Paul Lehmann, "Mittelalterliche Büchertitel," in *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, vol. 5 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1962), 1-93.

¹⁹³ See Mary Ames Rouse and Richard Hunter Rouse, "Florilegia of Patristic Texts," in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: Définition, critique et exploitation*, ed. Robert Bultot (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1982), 165-80.

¹⁹⁴ See György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 4.2 (Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1829), 254-5: "Innocentius Episcopus etc. Omnibus Praelatis in regno Franciae, Angliae, Scotiae, Walliae, Hispaniae et Hungariae, constituto super specula et infra. Dolentes recolimus, qualiter quondam pia ac sancta Clericorum plantatio, suae primae honestatis oblita, a summo sanctitatis culmine ad ima descendit vitiorum... Volentes igitur tantae insolentiae morbo necessariam adhibere medelam, ut plenius et perfectius Theologiae studio insistatur, quae directae iter ostendit salutis vel saltem philosophicis disciplini; quae etsi pietate careant, tamen dirigunt ad sciendum et cupiditas reddunt extorrem; quae omnium malorum radix et idolorum servitus perhibetur." For the books serving spiritual education, see Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger, *Über die bildung der Geistlichen im späten Mittelalter* (Leiden and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1953), 121-31.

¹⁹⁵ For the *Fortleben* of the works of Cicero, see James Stuart Beddie, "The Ancient Classics in the Mediaeval Libraries," *Speculum* 5.1 (1930): 9-10. For Iosephus Flavius, *ibid.*, 7. Furthermore, see the studies of Edward Kennard Rand, "The Classics in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 4.3 (1929): 249-69 and Paul Lehmann, "Deutschland und die mittelalterliche Überlieferung der Antike," in *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1960), 149-72 and "The Benedictine Order and the Transmission of the Literature of Ancient Rome in the Middle Ages," *ibid.*, 173-83. A systematic survey has been given by Max Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1935).

grammar in the Middle Ages.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, classics served as criteria for the medieval norms *litteratus* and *illitteratus*.¹⁹⁷ In 1465, thirty years after the compilation of the catalogue of the Veszprém cathedral library, Janus Pannonius, the Hungarian humanist wrote a proud letter to his Italian friend, Galeotto Marzio. In this, he said that he had already all his classical Latin authors to his friends. His only hope was that he could keep his Greek books, because none of his friends knew Greek: *Di melius, quod nemo vestrum Graece scit!*¹⁹⁸ The contrast between the private library of the humanist Janus Pannonius and the cathedral libraries of Veszprém and Zagreb illustrates the fate of the Latin classics among the canons.

The medieval holdings of the Hungarian cathedral libraries could not only increase through the donations of bishops, archdeacons, and canons. The codex of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl in the *Collegium Christi* of Esztergom or the medical books of the Zagreb cathedral library suggest that the academic *peregrinatio* of the students also contributed to the increase of these libraries. The books they had purchased abroad may have easily got from their private libraries into those of the cathedrals. The late medieval wandering students followed a long tradition in Hungary as well. According to the *epitaphium* of Anselm of Laon, written by Marbod of Rennes (†1123), Hungarian students (*Pannonia tota*), along with English, French, and Italian ones, visited the famous cathedral school of Laon at the very beginning of the twelfth century.¹⁹⁹ The case of the Hungarian Nicholas at the end of the

¹⁹⁶ Ernst Robert Curtius, "Das mittelalterliche Bildungswesen und die Grammatik," *Romanische Forschungen* 60.1 (1947): 1-26.

¹⁹⁷ Herbert Grundmann, "Litteratus - illitteratus: Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 40.1 (1958): 1-65. For the implication of literacy in medieval Hungary, see László Mezey, "Der Literat und seine Literatur: Zur Entstehungsfrage der gebildeten Laienschicht im mittelalterlichen Ungarn," *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 10.1-2 (1968): 29-46.

¹⁹⁸ See Csaba Csapodi, "Les livres de Janus Pannonius et sa bibliothèque a Pécs," *Scriptorium* 28.1 (1974): 46: "Postremo suades, ut libros mittam. An nondum etiam satis mississe videor? Graeci mihi soli restant, Latinos iam omnes abstulistis. Di melius, quod nemo vestrum Graece scit! Puto et ex Graecis nullum mihi faceretis reliquum. Quodsi didiceritis, ego mox Judaicam ediscam et ex Hebraeis codicibus bibliothecam inscribam. Quae est ita, quaeso, tanta librorum habendorum insatiabilitas? Creditis hoc non esse vitium?"

¹⁹⁹ Marbod of Rennes, "Epitaphium Anselmi Laudunensis magistri," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 171 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1893), 1722B:

twelfth century illustrates how Hungarian students got acquainted with English ones in Paris and how they were invited to Oxford and to the Lincoln cathedral school to study theology.²⁰⁰ Of course, one cannot speak yet about *stricto sensu* university *peregrinatio* in this relatively early period in the sense of the late medieval flourishing universities.²⁰¹ However, the tendency is clear: some of the Hungarian students also became *scholares* or *scholastici* abroad. The links between Hungary and the West can hardly be established either by paleographical or by codicological tools. First, there are very few traces in Hungary of the development of writing at Western European universities.²⁰² Second, the so-called *pecia* system, a special method in copying university textbooks, did not reach Hungary.²⁰³ Numerous sources tell about students returning to their home without books (*pauper libris, dives autem in scientia*). Peter of Limoges (†1306), *magister artium* and *baccalaureus theologiae*, wrote *de scholaribus parisiis*

"Lex, evangelium, psalmus, seu nube voluta,
Anselmo mediante, Deus dedit esse soluta.
Anglia, Francorum regnum, Pannonia tota,
Gens Liguris, plebs Apiliae, Judaea remota,
Pluribus errorum tenebris prius illaqueata
Senserunt documenta viri, documenta beata."

For the interpretation of this source, see László Mezey, *Deákiség és Európa: Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlata* (Latinity and Europe: the foundation of Hungarian literary culture) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 136.

²⁰⁰ See József Laszlovszky, "Nicholaus Clericus: A Hungarian Student at Oxford University in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of Medieval History* 14.3 (1988): 217-31. As the case of the French-born Master Peter of Vienna shows, the academic *peregrinatio* was not a one-way traffic in the early scholastic period. See Heinrich Fichtenau, "Magister Petrus von Wien (†1183)," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 63.3-4 (1955): 283-97. In late medieval England, canons began to get involved into the university *peregrinatio* as well. See David Knowles, "Monks and Canons at the University, 1300-1450," in *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 2, *The End of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 14-28. According to a statute in 1367, the bishop of Lincoln still had some control over the common library of the university of Oxford. See Strickland Gibson, ed., *Statuta antiqua universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), 165-6.

²⁰¹ On the semantic development of the term *universitas*, see Olga Weijers, *Terminologie des universités au XIIIe siècle* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1987), 23-6.

²⁰² See the studies of István Hajnal, "Universities and the Development of Writing in the XIIth-XIIIth Centuries," *Scriptorium* 6.2 (1952): 177-95 and "A propos de l'enseignement de l'écriture des universités médiévales," *Scriptorium* 11.1 (1957): 3-30.

²⁰³ For the *pecia* system, see Jean Destrez, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Éditions Jacques Vautrain, 1935); and Graham Pollard, "The Pecia System in Medieval Universities," in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries*, ed. M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978), 145-61. Of course, the treasure mine of the *pecia* system is in Paris. See Richard Hunter Rouse, "The Early Library of the Sorbonne," *Scriptorium* 21.1 (1967): 42-71.

studentibus: quod in scolis audiverat non libris sed memorie commendaverat, ut si carta cadet tecum sapiencia vadat. Unfortunately, not all of these students kept everything in their memory. Some of them simply lost their books on the way home: *Cum semel quidam de numero talium fatuorum rediret ad patriam cum numerositate librorum casu contigit quod summerarius ejus libros portans in aquam cecidit et sic totum amisit.*²⁰⁴ Nevertheless, this evidence imply that some Hungarian students carried their books home from the West.

In the late Middle Ages, Hungarian kings tried to establish universities at Pécs (1367), Óbuda (1389), and Pozsony (1467).²⁰⁵ The 1410 charter of the antipope John XXIII illustrates the ambitions of Sigismund of Luxembourg in founding faculties at the university of Óbuda *in sacre theologie ac iuris canonici et civilis necnon medicine et artium.*²⁰⁶ However, the

²⁰⁴ These sources are quoted by Asztrik Gábel, "Magyar diákok és tanárok a középkori Párizsban" (Hungarian students and masters in medieval Paris), *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 62.4-9 (1938): 183. Other students simply preferred *calices* to *codices* and *bibere* to *scribere*. See *ibid.*, 193: "Quidam scholaris socio suo qui, studio derelecto, commessacionibus intendebat, ita scripsit: Tu qui disciplinali malicie et libris omnia postposueras, nunc codices ad calices transtulisti et scribere in bibere convertisti nunc predicatoris egregius predicator, qui prius fueras nominatissimus disputator, plus studes in calicibus quam in codicibus, plus vacas in commessacionibus quam lectionibus, plus in *salmon* quam ex *salomone* studes. Non est hec mutacio dextere excelsi." *Salmo* was the signboard of one of the pubs in medieval Paris.

²⁰⁵ From the detailed historiography of medieval Hungarian universities, see György Székely, "A pécsi és óbudai egyetemalapítások helye a közép-európai egyetemalapítási hullámokban" (The place of the university foundations at Pécs and Óbuda in the waves of the university foundations in Central Europe), in *A 600 éves jogi felsőoktatás történetéből 1367-1967* (From the history of the six hundred years of higher education in law 1367-1967), ed. Andor Csizmadia (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kara, 1968), 117-30; Asztrik Gábel, *The Mediaeval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony: Commemoration of the 500th and 600th Anniversary of Their Foundation 1367-1467-1967* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Mediaeval Institute; Frankfurt am Main: Josef Knecht, 1969); and Tibor Klaniczay, "Egyetem és politika a magyar középkorban" (University and politics in medieval Hungary), in *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Cultural studies on medieval Hungary), ed. György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 35-44.

²⁰⁶ See László Szögi, ed., *Régi magyar egyetemek emlékezete: Válogatott dokumentumok a magyarországi felsőoktatás történetéhez 1367-1777* (The memory of old Hungarian universities: selected documents on the history of higher education in Hungary 1367-1777) (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1995), 67-8: "in oppido suo Veterisbude Vesprimiensis diocesis in regno Ungarie predicto consistente... auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium statuimus et etiam ordinavimus ut in dicto oppido Veterisbude de cetero sit studium generale, illudque perpetuis temporibus ibi vigeat, tam in sacre theologie ac iuris canonici et civilis necnon medicine et artium quam qualibet licita facultate; et quod docentes, legentes et studentes ibidem omnibus privilegiis, libertatibus, immunitatibus, exemptionibus et indulgentiis, doctoribus et magistris, legentibus et scholaribus et presertim in eadem sacre pagina in Parisiensi, Bononiensi, Oxoniensi Lincolnensi diocesis et Coloniensi studiis commorantibus per sedem apostolicam, Romanum imperium aut alios quodcumque concessis, gaudeant et utantur..." For the foundation of the university at Óbuda, see Hermann Diener, "Zur Geschichte der Universitätsgründungen in Alt-Ofen (1395) und Nantes (1423)," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 42-43 (1963): 265-84.

auctoritas apostolica of an antipope did not prove to be strong enough. The universities of Pécs and Pozsony did not have a long life, either. Therefore, Hungarian students went on visiting foreign countries. Apart from the Italian universities,²⁰⁷ they visited the Central European universities.²⁰⁸ Vienna,²⁰⁹ Prague,²¹⁰ and Cracow²¹¹ became the most popular destinations of Hungarian students.²¹² What connects the Central European universities to the Hungarian cathedral libraries? Recent studies have shown that many of the wandering Hungarian students were canons. According to the available sources, for instance, one hundred and thirty-five Hungarian canons studied in Vienna and thirty in Cracow between 1458 and 1526.²¹³ These numbers suggest that the university *peregrinatio* of Hungarian canons must

²⁰⁷ See Endre Veress, ed., *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitatibus Italiae studentium 1221-1864* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1941). See furthermore, Kinga Körmendy, "A 14-15. századi bolognai egyetem könyvkultúrájának egy magyar vonatkozású kódexe" (A codex concerning Hungary in the book culture of the university of Bologna in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 110.1 (1994): 1-15.

²⁰⁸ See Gábor Klaniczay, "Late Medieval Central European Universities: Problems of Their Comparative History," forthcoming.

²⁰⁹ Paul Uiblein, "Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Universität Wien," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 71 (1963): 284-310.

²¹⁰ J. Loserth, "Der älteste Katalog der Prager Universitäts-Bibliothek," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 11.2 (1890): 301-18; István Barta, "L'Université Charles de Prague et la Hongrie," *Revue d'Histoire Comparée* 26.2 (1948): 213-31; and František Kavka, "A prágai Károly egyetem, a pécsi egyetem és Dél-Magyarország a XIV. században és a XV. század elején" (The Charles university of Prague, the university of Pécs, and Southern Hungary in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century), in *Jubileumi tanulmányok a pécsi egyetem történetéből* (Jubilee studies on the history of the university of Pécs), ed. Andor Csizmadia (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Karának Tudományos Bizottsága, 1967), 87-95.

²¹¹ Hastings Rashdall, F. M. Powicke, and A. B. Emden, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, *Italy - Spain - France - Germany - Scotland etc.* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 293; Adam Vetulani, "Les origines de l'Université de Cracovie," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 13 (1966): 14-40; Paul W. Knoll, "Casimir the Great and the University of Cracow," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 16.2 (1968): 232-49; Jan Dąbrowski, "Les relations de Cracovie et son Université avec la Hongrie à l'époque de l'humanisme," in *La Renaissance et la Réformation en Pologne et en Hongrie (1450-1650)*, ed. György Székely and Erik Fügedi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963), 451-64; Endre Kovács, *A krakkói egyetem és a magyar művelődés: Adalékok a magyar-lengyel kapcsolatok XV-XVI. századi történetéhez* (The university of Cracow and the Hungarian culture: on the history of the Hungaro-Polish relations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964); and János Csontos, "A krakkói könyvtár hazai vonatkozású kéziratjai" (The manuscripts of the Cracow library relating to Hungary), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 7.5-6 (1882): 373-98.

²¹² István Barta, "Középkorvégi szellemi művelődésünk és a külföldi egyetemek" (Late medieval Hungarian culture and the foreign universities), *Regnum* 2 (1937): 97-118.

have played an important role in the time of the compilation of the library catalogues of the cathedrals of Veszprém and Zagreb. This partly helps to explain how a part of the books in canon law, theology, arts, and medicine could have wandered into their libraries. The contributions of canons studying at foreign universities should be considered as well as those of local scribes, magnanimous bishops, and archdeacons. In some similar cases in Central Europe, it is possible to find the traces of the academic *peregrinatio* in the provenance of these codices on the basis of the various inscriptions of the possessors.²¹⁴ Since the majority of medieval Hungarian codices were destroyed or lost, it is much more difficult to establish various trends concerning the way of wandering manuscripts. However, some of the catalogues of medieval Hungarian cathedral libraries survived and they provide us with invaluable information on the books that disappeared. *Habent sua fata libelli*.²¹⁵

²¹³ József Köblös, *Az egyházi középréteg Mátyás és a Jagellók korában (A budai, fehérvári, győri és pozsonyi káptalan adattárával)* (The ecclesiastical middle class in the time of Matthias and Jagellos: With the database of the chapters of Buda, Fehérvár, Győr, and Pozsony) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1994), 39, 215-20. Furthermore, see Béla Kovács, "Studensek, magisterek, doktorok," (Students, masters, doctors), *Archivum* 11 (1983): 11-39: database of the fifteenth-century university *peregrinatio* of Hungarian students from Heves county.

²¹⁴ Ivan Hlaváček, "Alte Handschriftenbesitzervermerke, mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge und die mittellateinische Literatur," *Philologus* 123.1 (1979): 186-91.

²¹⁵ Terentianus Maurus, "De litteris, de syllabis, de metris libri III," in *Grammatici Latini*, ed. Heinrich Keil, vol. 6 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1874), 363.

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